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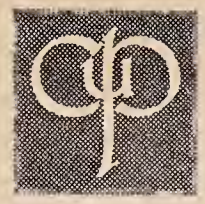
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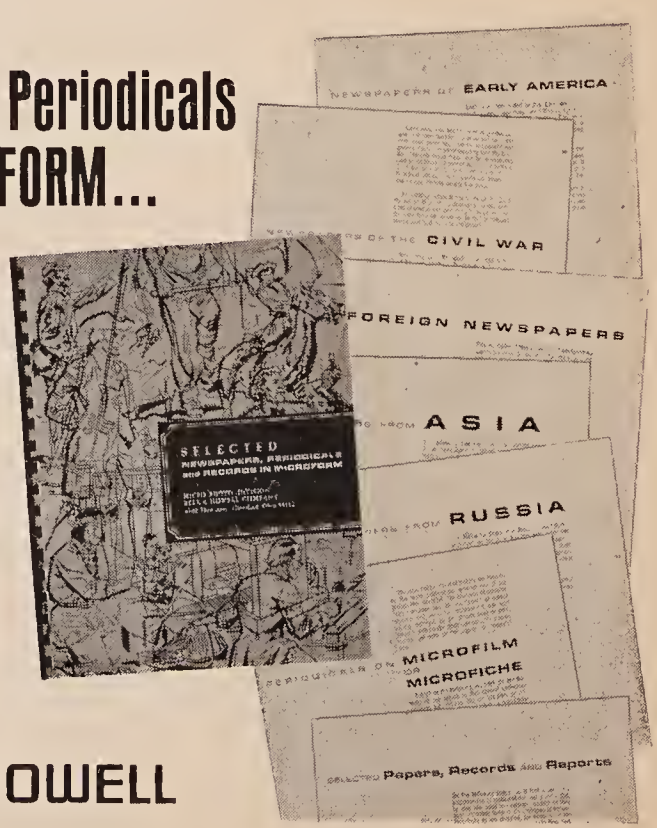
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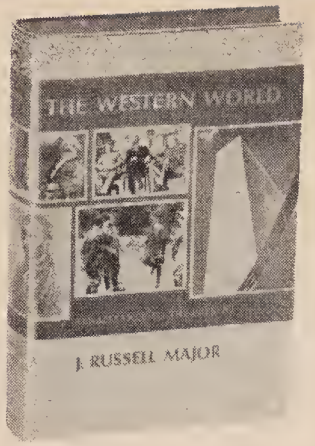
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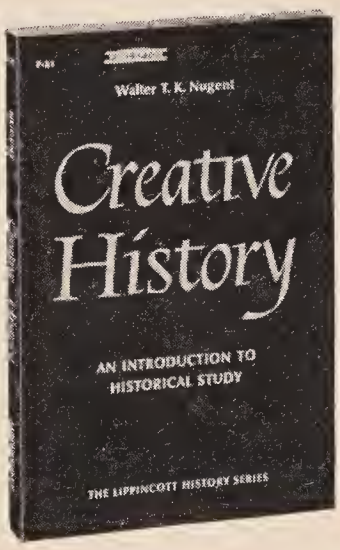
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VOLUME LXXIII, NUMBER 5 JUNE 1968

The Nineteenth-Century Discovery of Italy: An Essay in American Cultural History. Prolegomena to a Historiographical Problem

A. WILLIAM SALOMONE*

THE remarks in the prefatory rubrics of this essay are not intended to serve as a sketch for a new philosophy of historiography. They aim rather to be a partial explication, if not a justification, of the unusual context within which this article seeks to place an interpretation of a traditional historical question. More precisely, these preliminary comments aim to clarify not only the integral connection between the major terms of reference in the title of this essay but also its own essential function as prolegomenon to a special historiographical problem: the contexts, course, and character of American historical writing on the *Risorgimento*. An effort will therefore be made to synthesize the theoretical and critical guidelines that have been

* Mr. Salomone is Wilson Professor of Modern European History at the University of Rochester and the author of *Italy in the Giolittian Era* (Philadelphia, 1960). This article is a slightly revised version of the first part of a paper on the *Risorgimento* in American historiography that he read at a symposium on "Italy and the United States in the Era of the Civil War" held under the auspices of the *Istituto di Studi Americani* of the University of Florence in May 1966.

adopted in dealing with the substance of the essay. As I hope will become evident, the main part of this study represents, in essence, a summary of findings of a more sustained and long-ranging attempt to reinterpret the nineteenth-century cultural and intellectual premises of twentieth-century American historiography on the *Risorgimento*. In offering a view on the prehistory of that historiography, the substantive section of this article will try to suggest how certain modes of consciousness and of thought and feeling of an almost uniquely influential sector of the nineteenth-century American intelligentsia had both affected and tended to prefigure the fundamental cultural character of a tradition of historical writing on the most decisive phase of modern Italian history: the *Risorgimento*.

During the course of the chronological nineteenth century not a single original and influential work was produced in the United States dealing with contemporary Italy or the *Risorgimento,* none, at least, that, even by the most generous benefit of doubt, has merited discussion, if not homage, in old and new critical reviews of American historical writing on European history.[1] Given the fact that through three generations—from the great literary historians of the Romantic or national era through the realist historians of the middle period to the "scientific" historians of the positivistic age—American historical writing appears to have developed and moved in numerous directions and to have encompassed a multiplicity of old and newer units of study, why was the history of modern and contemporary Italy so conspicuously neglected? Until the appearance of William Roscoe Thayer's huge work on Count Camillo Cavour and his times in 1911,[2] that is, practically to the close of an epoch in European and world history, no piece of genuine historical writing on the Italy of the *Risorgimento* era had been produced in America that could be said to have transcended the closed circles of literary impressionism, journalistic dilettantism, and, infinitely worse, of history without problems, of history, that is, either as essays in the "pedantic and pedestrian" minutiae of defective monographic treatments "lacking large views, conclusions, and generalizations" or as exercises in pseudohistorical and moralistic judgments on Italian history.[3]

[1] One looks in vain for any such reference in such old and new compendiums as James Westfall Thompson and Bernard J. Holm, *A History of Historical Writing* (2 vols., New York, 1958); G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (rev. ed., London, 1955); Alberto M. Ghisalberti, *Introduzione alla storia del Risorgimento* (Rome, 1942); Walter Maturi, *Interpretazioni del Risorgimento* (Turin, 1962); John Higham *et al., History* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1965).

[2] William Roscoe Thayer, *The Life and Times of Cavour* (2 vols., Boston, 1911).

[3] The phrases in quotation marks are drawn from Donald C. McKay, "Storici americani del Risorgimento," in Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, *Atti del XXXII Congresso di storia del Risorgimento (Firenze 9–12 settembre 1953)* (Rome, 1954), 238, in his brief characterization of the works of R. M. Johnston entitled, respectively, *Roman Theocracy and the*

The semivacuum of nineteenth-century historical writing on modern Italy resounds with eloquent silence on the problem it poses in practically all appraisals offered during the twentieth century of American historiography on the *Risorgimento*. During the less than a quarter of a century since the end of the Second World War, a few useful, brief studies have appeared, both in the United States and in Italy, that deal with the American historiography of the *Risorgimento,* yet none seem to contain a direct confrontation of that problem. Generally speaking, most of these pieces have tended to be either too generic or selective or too schematic or bibliographical, and most of them have been more or less inaccessible to the unenterprising student of American historiography.[4] Some of these studies, however, reveal extremely serious, often incisive, suggestive meditation by American scholars upon problems of Italian and American historiography, and, varying with author, purport, and occasion, they frequently punctuate substantive complexities and methodological subtleties of comparative history.[5] But strikingly common in all of them is the assumption that, before Thayer's *Cavour,* the *Risorgimento* was not a critically viewed, not even a truly distinct, unit of modern Italian history. As I have already suggested, the assumption is manifestly correct. But, again, what actually justifies that assumption or, in a different way, from what heuristically discoverable factors beyond or behind the obvious fact that gives it validity can its meaning be abstracted within the dual context of nineteenth-century American historical reality and consciousness and twentieth-century historiographical interpretation? Why was a formal American historiography of the *Risorgimento* destined to come so late, prove so discontinuous, and yet, despite its varieties, remain so recognizably national?

One may suppose that hypothetically these questions can be answered very simply. There are always trivial or obscure contexts within which the practical and theoretical vicissitudes of modern historical study may be ex-

Republic, 1846–1849 (London, 1901), and *The Napoleonic Empire in Southern Italy and the Rise of the Secret Societies* (2 vols., London, 1904). The other generalizations in my sentence refer, among others, to such larger or briefer pieces on modern Italy as had appeared in the United States before 1910. (See, e.g., William Roscoe Thayer, *The Dawn of Italian Independence* [2 vols., Boston, 1892], and "Cavour and Bismarck," *Atlantic Monthly,* CII [1909], 335–48; Andrew Dickson White, "The Statesmanship of Cavour," *ibid.,* XCIX [Mar., Apr. 1907], 290–304, 506–24.)

[4] For useful bibliohistoriographical reviews of much of the most recent literature, see Kent Roberts Greenfield, "La storiografia americana e l'Italia," *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento,* XLIX (Apr.–June 1962), 237–60; Charles F. Delzell, *Italy in Modern Times: An Introduction to the Historical Literature in English* (Washington, D. C., 1964).

[5] Among the most serious and thought-provoking are McKay, "Storici americani del Risorgimento," 234–41; H. Stuart Hughes, "Gli studi di storia moderna italiana in America," *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento,* XLV (Apr.–June 1958), 273–77. In a class apart is the masterly contribution by Kent Roberts Greenfield, "The Historiography of the Risorgimento since 1920," *Journal of Modern History,* VII (Mar. 1935), 49–67.

plained away. It is true, for instance, that during the nineteenth century both inside and outside estimable academic circles in the United States there was so serious and committed an interest in select aspects of Italian artistic and cultural history and a no less significant tradition of professional attention to Italian language and literature that favorably conditioned the production of some of the most distinctive critical work on the classics of the Italian creative imagination from Dante to Alessandro Manzoni.[6] But neither that cultural interest nor that literary tradition seemed to be convertible into other areas of professional labors. Certainly no institutionalization of Italian historical studies seems to have occurred in any American university; no seminars in modern European history were dedicated to the training of young scholars in modern Italian history. One of the last survivors of a vanishing race of genial amateur historians—Thayer—became the first methodical student of the central moment and figure of modern Italian history. But it was not by chance and temperament alone that Thayer had been a pupil and disciple of Charles Eliot Norton, himself the most eminent, refined and sophisticated, literary and cultural *italianisant* in America for more than a generation, but far from being an official member of the "scientific" circles of professional historians at Harvard University (1875–1897).[7]

On the other hand, if one adopts concepts of relativity, contingency, and subjective personality in so far as they appear to have displaced the traditional assumptions of objectivity, continuity, and universality of historical thought, a plausible explanation may be offered for the character of American historiographical labors in general, not merely those on modern Italy. But such an explanation is so all-encompassing that it might mean either too much or too little when applied to the concrete problem of the *Risorgimento* in American historiography. A generalizing principle so sweeping might and indeed does prove useful toward isolating differences within American varieties of approach to and interpretations of the *Risorgimento* after a historiographical tradition had begun to assume identifiable forms, but it would be of little help toward understanding why a particular structure of historical thought and practice emerged, assumed certain shapes, and

[6] For an excellent review of Italian linguistic and literary studies in America during the nineteenth century, see Joseph G. Fucilla, *The Teaching of Italian in the United States: A Documentary History* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1967), 26–180.

[7] See the sketch on Norton in *Dictionary of American Biography,* ed. Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (22 vols., New York, 1928–44), XIII, 569–72. On the occasion of his master's seventy-fifth birthday (Nov. 6, 1902), Thayer wrote to Norton: "Among all that Harvard did for me, your friendly interest, your teaching, your example, have counted for most with me. I am only one of the score and hundreds for whom you have done so much . . . as the benefactor through whom they learned *come l'uom s'eterna*" (See *The Letters of William Roscoe Thayer,* ed. Charles Downer Hazen [Boston, 1926], 119–20.)

moved in certain directions. For a historiographical tradition is not just created as such, perhaps not even by the most original historical mind of an age. However obscure and mysterious, the interaction between genius and ethos is a fundamental premise of historiographical originality.[8] If historical intelligence does not wish to be too lightly esteemed by being too easily satisfied, it must not allow the historian's craft to lose its soul either to a creeping self-engendered sterility or to the implacable hostility of outsiders ever eager and ready to attack history as the new dismal science of the twentieth century;[9] it must, therefore, ceaselessly, fearlessly pursue self-renewing understanding of the relationship between consciousness and culture, culture and history, the history of ideas and historiography.[10]

One of the major purposes of the second section of this essay is to present an interpretation of the substantive problems of what seemed to be—and, I believe, was—a significant aspect of American cultural experience during the nineteenth century. Those problems are dealt with in practice through an attempt to isolate, retrace, and describe those special features of American consciousness that, as the spiritual and intellectual constituent elements of a vision of a historical "world within world" (Italy and Europe), became the formative influence in the emergence, and the subtly persisting points of

[8] It is certainly not vain to ask whether the genius of Thucydides is conceivable in its unique manifestations if it is completely isolated or transferred from the ethas of the Hellenic world and the crisis of Athenian democracy, or that of Francesco Guicciardini from the crisis of politics and culture of Renaissance Italy, that of Leopold von Ranke from the postrevolutionary milieu of German Romanticism and the restoration system of European states, or, finally, that of Benedetto Croce from the problems of traditional philosophy and the culture of Posivitism and then the crisis of the liberal ethos in the twentieth century. Since the problem of the relationship between genius and ethos, history and culture, has methodological, if only analogical, pertinence to the conceptual problems of this essay, I have found useful the historiographical treatment of each of these great historians in the following works: on Thucydides, J. B. Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians* (New York, 1958), 75–106, and Ferdinand Schevill, *Six Historians* (Chicago, 1956), 1–30; on Guicciardini, Vittorio De Caprariis, *Francesco Guicciardini dalla politica alla storia* (Bari, 1950), 7–24, and Felix Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini: Politics and History in Sixteenth-Century Florence* (Princeton, N. J., 1965), 236–70; on Ranke, Friedrich Meinecke, *Die Idee der Staatsräson in der neueren Geschichte* (Munich, 1957), 442–59, and Theodore H. Von Laue, *Leopold Ranke: The Formative Years* (Princeton, N. J., 1950), 21–32; on Croce, Carlo Antoni, *Commento a Croce* (Venice, 1955), 25–33, and Federico Chabod, "Croce storico," *Rivista storica italiana,* LXIV (No. 4, 1952), 473–530.

[9] For a sympathetic summation of the "indictment" against "history" made by "outsiders" from a variety of quarters but with a philosophical thread running from Friedrich Nietzsche to Norman O. Brown, see Hayden V. White, "The Burden of History," *History and Theory,* V (No. 2, 1966), 111–34. In referring to Brown, White says: "In *Life against Death* [New York, 1959], Brown offers the historiographical equivalent of the anti-novel; for he is writing anti-history . . ." (p. 128). Since White's article appeared before the publication of N. O. Brown's *Love's Body* (New York, 1966), it may be of interest to note that Brown's "anti-history" seems reducible to an extreme form of neovitalism. (See esp. the chap. entitled "Resurrection" [pp. 191–214].)

[10] For a basic bibliography of works dealing with these relationships and other problems, see *Generalization in the Writing of History,* ed. Louis Gottschalk (Chicago, 1963), 213–47, which is a "Bibliography of Writings on Historiography and the Philosophy of History," compiled by Martin Klein. From a growing literature, see one of the most recent, sustained, and organic works on philosophy, the history of ideas, and historiography in Pietro Piovani, *Filosofia e storia delle idee* (Bari, 1965).

reference in the development and general character, of a new historiographical tradition: American historical thought and writing on *Risorgimento* Italy during the twentieth century. Behind the historical work of Thayer and most of his successors (however close or distant, faithful or rebellious, these may be judged in reference to his premises, procedures, and judgments) there lay the unique experience constituted by the nineteenth-century American attempt at the discovery of Italy, without doubt one of the most exquisitely fascinating but incomparably ironical encounters between the mind of an "emergent" culture and the history of a classic civilization. Formalized American historiography on modern Italy was to inherit both the legacy of that momentous encounter and the burden of the pristine ahistorical response it elicited from the American mind to modern Italian reality. As will be detailed below, that response had ensued from the subtle, cultural dialectic that during the nineteenth century had strangely tended to pit a fixed American consciousness of Italy against a series of moving, changing realities in contemporary American, European, and Italian history. By its very nature that response had tended to impress itself as a sort of original character upon the spiritual understructure, the nonrational foundations, of American historical consciousness of modern Italy. The encounter itself, therefore, proved to be not just a passing episode but a crucial event, not merely a chronological prehistory but a psychological prelude, not a fleeting experience but an enduring thematic statement (no less impressive for its having been negative) of an original American vision of an unknown historical world, modern Italy—a world whose discovery had to be undertaken again and again in the course of the twentieth century.

Finally, some important conceptual questions should perhaps be treated in such an introductory summary of critical aims and substantive intentions as this section seeks to do. Those questions might be directly addressed to a particularization of the theoretical and methodological criteria synthesized or suggested in the preceding paragraphs. The requirement is, of course, legitimate, the desire to fulfill it quite strong, but the opportunity and practicality almost nonexistent at this point. It is sufficient here to reiterate that the conceptual framework adopted for this study of the problem of the American discovery of Italy in the nineteenth century has as its major but not exclusive points of reference a view of history as a function of cultural consciousness, and of historical methodology as a rigorous discipline but not a rigid science.[11] It is, however, not merely "spatial" economy but rather the essential *raison d'être* of this protohistoriographical under-

[11] See Gert Müller, "History as a Rigorous Discipline," *History and Theory,* VI (No. 3, 1967), 299–312.

taking that counsels the calculated risk of foregoing any further theoretical elaboration. As I have implied several times, the following section of this study may, I hope, be read both as a self-contained essay in American cultural history and as an elucidation, in practice, of a view of the potentialities (perhaps also of the limitations!) of cultural and intellectual history subsumed under a concept of historiographical hermeneutics.

Before the emergence of a full-fledged or clearly identifiable mode of American historical thought and writing on the *Risorgimento,* what may be rightly regarded as a particular, if not absolutely unique, style of cultural responses to the idea of Europe and to a special image of Italy had been eclectically molded through varieties of revealing expressions of a yet unstructured American historical consciousness, though not quite of a single-minded vision of the Old World.[12] Whatever other names they may accurately have acquired when political and social aspects are considered, the long American generation that lived from the definitive close of the age of democratic revolution to the eve of the Civil War corresponded, in essence, to a rich, myth-laden "Homeric Age" of American cultural history. Generally identified with a period of pristine innocence in American moral and intellectual history, the "Homeric Age" reached its heights vis-à-vis the Old World during the era of Romanticism in Europe and the pre-Cavourian phase of the *Risorgimento* in Italy.[13] The foundations of the

[12] The literature on these "responses" to both Italy and Europe has traditionally tended to be anthological and descriptive rather than analytical and critical, and it is, therefore, useful and sometimes valuable for illustrative rather than for strictly historical or historiographical purposes. Among the most interesting in the anthological category are: *The Discovery of Europe: The Story of American Experiences in the Old World,* ed. Philip Rahv (Boston, 1947), a pioneering and, in a way, model collection containing materials ranging from the European impressions of Benjamin Franklin to the "uses" of Europe in Henry Miller's writings; *The American in Europe: A Collection of Impressions Written by Americans from the Seventeenth Century to the Present,* ed. Frank McShane (New York, 1965); *Testimonianze americane sul Risorgimento,* ed. Elizabeth Mann-Borgese (Milan, 1961), offering in Italian translation a combination of nineteenth-century American impressions of Italy and pieces of American historical writing on the *Risorgimento.*

[13] Van Wyck Brooks, *Literature in New England* (2 vols. in 1, Garden City, N. Y., 1944), I, 460–77, discusses the "Romantic Exiles" and gives special attention to writers and artists in Italy; that discussion can now be seen as the scholarly prefiguring of the more "popular" but nonetheless fascinating treatment accorded to the same subject in *id., The Dream of Arcadia: American Writers and Artists in Italy, 1760–1915* (New York, 1958). A useful, if in places idiosyncratic, piece of original research is in Giuseppe Prezzolini, *Come gli americani scoprirono l'Italia* (Milan, 1933); the biographical data given by Prezzolini, and particularly the excellent bibliographical references (see esp. pp. 243–305), constitute a fine tool for elaboration of the story of Americans in Italy before 1850; certain obiter dicta and tendentiously political-ideological "anachronisms" do not perhaps really succeed in marring the book, and they are, at any rate, of different documentary interest in connection with the years of writing and publication of Prezzolini's work. One of the most recent descriptive-critical surveys on American travelers to Italy is Howard R. Marraro, "Viaggiatori americani in Italia durante il Risorgimento," *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento,* LIV (Oct.–Dec. 1967), 524–47. Largely based on a study of manuscript materials in the New York Public Library, Marraro's essay focuses upon the reactions to Italy during 1846–1847 by the publicist George Long Duyckinck, whose general

ethos of that age had incorporated an originally distant vision of Italian civilization, and they were gradually reinforced through a series of views, not always concordant, on nineteenth-century Italian culture and politics.[14] If, historically, a kind of fundamental consensus can be espied within that ethos, it lies less in the actual substance and forms than in the spirit, the wellsprings and motivating sources, of an almost totally novel American compulsion to seek out the ancient lymphs of American culture, of an American civilization yearning for self-determination and consciousness.

Throughout the "Homeric Age" it seems to have been that almost ineffable but quite efficacious spirit that launched a small, elect, and select band of Americans, the "happy few" from among the emerging leisure classes of the Atlantic seaboard and particularly from the New England intelligentsia, upon separate and uncoordinated but apparently commonly inspired journeys toward the discovery of Europe, within which one of the most intimate, secret or open, moving forces lay an almost irresistible quest for an "eternal Italy."[15] This, then, was the classic American era of the fortunate travelers, of the "passionate pilgrims," as Henry James later styled them, of new explorers of the homeland of Dante who set

"response" is thus interestingly summarized: "Duyckinck becomes sad in his reports when the time to leave Rome approaches. As long as he goes round visiting monuments and other notable things, he is well satisfied, and [though] he believes that everything has been properly explored, all the churches visited, he was convinced that the museums do not lose their fascination after many visits. Then, on the other hand, he would start wishing that this was not his last visit to the city, and hoping that some day he would see again so many pretty things" (p. 540).

[14] At the conclusion of his book, Prezzolini (*Come gli americani,* 239–41), states that the Americans' voyages to Italy had served artistic and literary purposes; the "collective" function of the rather numerous "gruppo di italianizzanti," who, from 1820 to 1880 had gone to Italy, is thus summed up by Prezzolini: "In the meantime, that open-minded generation [of Americans] which had been harmoniously educated, unprejudiced, and richly endowed with human sympathy, had achieved an important function: it had discovered Italy for Americans." Whether that "discovery" was of an Italy as history or idea, past or present, or as "tourist attraction," is far from clear in that conclusion.

[15] See Paul R. Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims: Americans in Italy, 1800–1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 198–212, for an excellent discussion of the varieties of "meaning of Italy" for Americans of the "Homeric Age." In the preface to *Dream of Arcadia* (pp. ix–xiii) Brooks offers a quick survey of the attraction of Italy felt by outstanding European literary and artistic figures during the nineteenth century. Both for formal and substantive comparative purposes of contrast in "the meaning of Italy" for Americans and Europeans, see C. P. Brand, *Italy and the English Romantics: The Italianate Fashion in Early Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, Eng., 1957), esp. 9–25, 225–33; Giuliana Artom Treves, *Anglo-Fiorentini di cento anni fa* (Florence, 1953), 237–60 [see the English tr. by Sylvia Sprigge, *The Golden Ring: The Anglo-Florentines, 1847–1862* (London, 1957)]. On the most "passionate" European "pilgrim" to Italy during the period of the restoration, see Matthew Josephson, *Stendhal or the Pursuit of Happiness* (Garden City, N. Y., 1946), 401–56; Bruno Pincherle, *In compagnia di Stendhal* (Milan, 1967), 51–77, 147–205; *Album Stendhal,* ed. Vittorio Del Litto (Paris, 1966), a critical, iconographic jewel on Stendhal as an "Italian." See also *id. et al., L'Italie au temps de Stendhal* (Paris, 1966). For "realistic" impressions of Italy on the eve of and during the early stages of the revolutionary explosion of 1848 by an unusually perceptive and committed Russian "pilgrim" to Europe, see the version of the "Letters from the Via del Corso" by Alexandre Herzen, *Lettres de France et d'Italie (1847–1852)* (Geneva, 1871), 85–174, Letters V–VIII; on Herzen in Italy, see Martin Malia, *Alexander Herzen and the Birth of Russian Socialism* (New York, 1965), 365–68.

forth equipped with warm American clothes and sturdier moral fortitude against the perils of the journey. Usually they re-ensured themselves with charts of the cultural landscape through study of the classics, exposure to the language of the "Tuscan Poet," and lighter reading of his medieval and Renaissance "successors."[16] Thus a restricted but widening stream of literati and poets, artists and writers, young philosophers and students of history, restless dreamers and intellectuals, and bold adventurers flowed as if "backward" toward Europe and were "drawn to Italy by a common need for a spiritual background, for a sense of the past, for a gathering place made fertile by the creative life of centuries."[17] Their expectations were compounded of fears and hopes—fears that direct confrontation with the creatures of their dreams might bring disenchantment, and hopes that fulfillment would at long last reveal to them the primeval sources, the original fountainheads of their cultural and spiritual life. For under the guise of their seeking intellectual and literary experience, of engaging in sentimental and emotional experiments, of discovering the secrets of their poetic or aesthetic models, the best and most sensitive among them, the most committed and reflective among the "happy few," were perhaps in the depths of their souls unwittingly in search not of self-identity alone but of historical self-recognition and ethical self-definition.[18]

The voluminous and rich confessional literature—epistolary, diaristic, and novelistic—that ensued in the course of those journeys or, in due time, as bittersweet remembrances of things past conjures an almost inescapable impression that the collective compulsion behind the movement of the American intelligence of that era toward the discovery of the classic Italian world was essentially mythopoeic.[19] The impetus spurring the quest and the projection of self "outside," toward a sphere beyond its immediate cultural, spiritual, and religious horizons, were almost of necessity founded upon an initial grand act of faith: the fundamental belief that, however strange and complex it might at first appear, there was "out there," in Italy, an immutable reality that was Italian life and civili-

[16] See Fucilla, *Teaching of Italian,* 60–76, on the "Italophilia of the American Intellectual Elite during the Nineteenth Century." For other aspects of American Italophilia, see Angelina LaPiana, *La cultura americana e l'Italia* (Turin, 1938), 138–53, 260–81, 196–324; Angelina Lograsso, *Piero Maroncelli* (Rome, 1958), 191–238; for interesting new materials on Maroncelli's relations with the Nortons and other Italianate families at Cambridge, see Eugene S. Scalia, "Figures of the Risorgimento: Ignazio Batolo, alias Pietro Bachi and Pietro D'Alessandro," *Italica,* XLII (Dec. 1965), 311–57.

[17] *Travelers in Arcadia: American Artists in Italy, 1830–1875,* ed. Edgar P. Richardson and Otto Wittman (Detroit, 1951), 14.

[18] Cushing Strout, *The American Image of the Old World* (New York, 1963), 62–63; Baker, *Fortunate Pilgrims,* 3–4.

[19] Brooks, *Literature in New England,* I, 467: "Italy, meanwhile, was the goal of those who sought, without benefit of Argos, the golden fleece of the past."

zation, a reality singularly permanent, continuous, and stable, and, therefore capturable through the active, albeit not clearly defined, fusion of objective contemplation, distanced but no longer distant, with subjective, direct but not critical, intellectual engagement.[20] The reality of an "eternal Italy" seemed to be almost automatically translatable into the inner language of apparently deeply rooted values and self-evident "facts," whether they encompassed profound convictions or superficial judgments upon what the American pilgrims regarded as the unchanging palpability of the Italian character and mind, the unmoving substantiality of Italian culture, the unregenerate condition of Italian society, the ineffectuality of Italian politics, and, withal, the matchless beauty of Italian poetry. For all these things, in turn, tended to be considered as necessary fixtures of a unique structure of life and culture, somehow integrally related and yet abstractly divisible to serve individual psychological requirements and collective self-justification. They appeared amenable to understanding, but only as objects of some sort of immediate experience, itself precariously balanced upon a scale more or less identified as observation, on one side, and participation,

[20] On American novelists, scholars, sculptors, painters, and poets in Rome through the 1840's, see Brooks, *Dream of Arcadia,* 13–109; Natalia Wright, *American Novelists in Italy. The Discoverers: Allston to James* (Philadelphia, 1965), with particular attention given to J. F. Cooper, Nathaniel Hawthorne, William Dean Howells, and Henry James; Madeleine B. Stern, "New England Artists in Italy, 1835–1855," *New England Quarterly,* XIV (June 1940), 243–71, reconstructs the life and work in the American artists' "colony" in Rome through a fine portrait of the sculptor Thomas Crawford. For more direct contemporary impressions of artists in Italy, see Henry T. Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists: American Artist Life Comprising Biographical and Critical Sketches of American Artists: Preceded by an Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of Art in America* (New York, 1870), containing sketches on Washington Allston, Samuel F. B. Morse, Henry Inman, Horatio Greenough, Hiram Powers, Crawford, and Frederick Church; for the earlier period, see Charles Edwards Lester, *The Artists of America* (New York, 1846). In a documentary class all its own is Henry James, *William Wetmore Story and His Friends: From Letters, Diaries, and Recollections* (2 vols., Boston, 1904), which, in a sense, contains as much James as Story, but is nevertheless indispensable for an understanding of the pre-Jamesian American-Roman artists' life, with the studio, salon, and circle of acquaintances of Story as the fields of observation and reconstruction. Hawthorne's running critical commentaries on his exposure to Italy, particularly Rome and Florence, seem more sophisticated and introspective than most others, and yet perhaps they are not truly different in kind but only in self-conscious emphasis and tonalities from those of his predecessors. (See Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Passages from the French and Italian Note-Books* [London, 1883], 50–506, for his visits of 1858 and 1859.) See the fictionized *divertissement* issued during the Civil War by Henry P. Leland, *Americans in Rome* (New York, 1863), which, in the preface (pp. 3–5), states: "While we in America, with our war and work, are fighting along stoutly in the advance guard of the world, let us not forget that there has been a past, by which we may still profit much, though it be only by measuring from it our own onward course. Such a standard may be found in Rome, which is to the present day the most living specimen of a rapidly vanishing, yet cultivated, age. In this great city and its territories, old times still weep and smile as they did in fairy tales and pictures, until the present age of steel came to improve the world. She is all of the past, and full of lessons, even if they be only of warning for the future. . . . In a few years these noticeable traits must vanish, and Rome, no more the prolongation of the Middle Ages will be the capital of a nation earnestly striving with the present, and rapidly assuming its characteristics." For insights into the guides' own minds and angles of vision on what they describe for others, see two of the most popular Anglo-American guidebooks of the nineteenth century: W. W. Story, *Roba di Roma* (3d ed., London, 1864), and Augustus J. C. Hare, *Walks in Rome* (2d American ed., New York, 1872).

on the other, not completely alien to "real life," but definitely detached from history, and, at any rate, almost equally capable, with unquestioning certainty, of being either momentarily accepted in the parts or ultimately rejected as a whole. Thus it was that an Italy almost without secular vicissitude and beyond historical time loomed on the horizons of the American spiritual discovery of the old European world.[21] As Henry Adams remembered it, "Italy was mostly an emotion and the emotion naturally centred in Rome."[22]

James Fenimore Cooper seemed to be crystallizing the sentiments of most, though not all, of the first "passionate pilgrims" to Italy when he wrote in one of his "letters" from Rome in 1838:

> On my mind, the comparison between Rome as she now is, and one of our own [American] large towns, has irresistibly forced itself on all such occasions. New York, for instance, and the Rome of today, are absolutely the moral opposites of each other; almost the physical opposites, too. One is a town of recollections, and the other a town of hopes. With the people of one, the disposition is to ruminate on the past; with the people of its converse, to speculate on the future. This sleeps over its ruins, while that boasts over its beginnings. The Roman glorifies himself on what his ancestors have been, the American in what his posterity *will* be. . . . An American, here, had occasion to prefer a request to this government [of Rome], and the functionary addressed was told by a Roman that the applicant would be sustained by his countrymen. "What is America but a people of ships!" was the haughty answer. What is a ship to a cameo?[23]

Similar expressions were abundant, recurrent, almost commonplace among Cooper's fellow travelers in Italy. But there were also unexpected variations, counterpoints of discordance, upon the same themes.[24]

Less than a year before Cooper's contrast between Rome and New York was etched, an even larger juxtaposition, whose undertones were to become more dominant during the following decade, was descried between Europe and America. George Ticknor was without doubt one of the most sophisticated cultural journalists of his day, a new literary proto-

[21] James, *William Wetmore Story,* I, 8–9: "They [the Americans] came from a world that was changing, but they came to one likewise not immutable, not quite fixed, for their amusement, as under a glass case; and it would have quickened their thrill to be a little more aware than they seem generally to have been that some possible sensations were slipping away forever, that they were no more than just in time for the best parts of the feast, and a later and less lucky generation might have as many regrets as surprises. . . ."

[22] Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (New York, 1931), 89.

[23] James Fenimore Cooper, *Travels and Excursions in Various Parts of the World: Interspersed with Numerous Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants. Italy* (2 vols., London, 1838), II, 199–201.

[24] See contemporary impressions of Italy in J. T. Headley, *Letters from Italy* (New York, 1845), 222–24; Robert Turnbull, *The Genius of Italy* (New York, 1849), 257–87, for rather strange views on the Church in Italy at the time of Vincenzo Gioberti, Pio Nono, and Gioacchino Ventura. For a contrast of the reactions of Cooper and Hawthorne, see Strout, *American Image of the Old World,* 88–106; on the "duality" of Hawthorne's "response" to Italy in general and Rome in particular, see Wright, *American Novelists in Italy,* 138–67.

type of the American cosmopolite whose European friends and correspondents included the great lights of the day in literature, politics, and poetry, in political science and philosophy, within and beyond cultural and academic communities.[25] Thus at some time or another during his three sojourns in Europe he had lunch, dinner, or supper, interviews, visits, or correspondence with Johann von Goethe, Alexander von Humboldt, Augustin Thierry, Alphonse de Lamartine, Claude Fauriel, François Mignet, Comte de Montalembert, William Wordsworth, and Lord Byron. In Italy the circle of his acquaintances included, among others, Manzoni, Silvio Pellico, Gino Capponi, G. B. Niccolini, Ludovico Di Breme, Federico Confalonieri, Principessa di Belgioioso, young Cavour, and the old Prince, Klemens von Metternich.[26] And it was the old Prince, not the young aristocratic rebels, who gave the American an insight into the "secret" of Europe, and in a letter dated from Rome, February 22, 1837, he later thus divulged his reactions to his friend Richard H. Dana:

You ask me if I cannot tell you something to comfort an old Tory. I cannot. What Prince Metternich, the Phoenix of Tories, said to me over and over again, in a curious conversation I had with him last summer, is eminently true to my feelings, and would be, perhaps, still more so to yours, if you were traveling about as I am,—*"L'état de l'Europe m'est dégoûtant."* The old principles that gave life and power to society are worn out; you feel on all sides a principle of decay at work, ill-counteracted by an apparatus of government very complicated, and very wearing and annoying. The wheels are multiplied, but the motion is diminished, the friction increased; and the machinery begins to grow shackling at the moment when the springs are losing their power, and when nothing but firmness can make it hold out. Indeed, almost everywhere, when you come in contact with the upper classes of society,—where in these governments power naturally resides,—you find weakness, inefficient presumption, and great moral

[25] For sketches on Ticknor's life and activities, see Brooks, *Literature in New England,* I, 73–88; Fucilla, *Teaching of Italian,* 84–91. For an illuminating sustained essay within a special American context, see Martin Green, *The Problem of Boston* (New York, 1966), 80–101.

[26] During his longer European stays, Ticknor was in Italy from September 1817 to April 1818, September 1836 to July 1837, and October 1856 to May 1857; see George Ticknor, *Life, Letters, and Journals* (2 vols., Boston, 1876), in which, for his relations, meetings, visits, or correspondence with some of the outstanding Italian personages of the *Risorgimento,* the following references have been found of major interest: I, 160–62, 172–76, concerning Breme, Confalonieri, and Cesare Balbo, whom Ticknor saw in 1817–1818; II, 38–86, for encounters with Balbo, Pellico, Manzoni, Niccolini, Capponi, and Madame Lenzoni during 1836–1837; and II, 352–53, for a visit with Cavour. Writing from Turin on May 22, 1857, to William W. Greenough who was in Boston, Ticknor sketched this portrait of the Piedmontese statesman: "Yesterday I had another phasis [*sic*] of the changes of the times. I dined with Count Cavour, the most distinguished of all Italian statesmen at this moment, and the man who, since 1852, has been doing so much to infuse new life into Sardinia. I was surprised to find him so young, only forty-seven, and not looking above forty; a round, pleasant-faced gentleman, who, to judge from his countenance and manner, has not a care in the world. His conversation is such as you might expect from his appearance, lively and agreeable; his views of everything on which he talked strikingly broad, and not, I think, always very exactly defined; and his general air natural but not impressive. His eye is very quick; it reminded me of Lord Melbourne's, which was the most vigilant I ever saw. Nothing seemed to escape the Italian Premier, and I think he not only saw but heard more than anybody else in the room. . . ." (*Ibid.,* 352.)

degradation; and when you come to those who are the real managers of the world, you find them anxious about the future, temporizing, and alternately using an ill-timed spirit of concession or an ill-timed severity. The middling class, on the other hand, is growing rich and intelligent, and the lower class, with very imperfect and unpractical knowledge, is growing discontented and jealous. The governments are everywhere trying to associate to their interests the wealth of the middling class, and to base themselves on property. But this is revolution. Personal interests will not work like the principle of respect to superiors, and submission to authority as such, and it remains to be seen what will be the result of the experiment in a population so corrupt in its higher classes, and of so low a moral tone in almost all, as that which is now found on the Continent, and, with some qualification, I must add, in England also. In the United States we have the opposite defects; but I greatly prefer them. We have the great basis of purity in our domestic life and relations, which is so broadly wanting here. We have men in the less favored portions of society, who have so much more intellect, will, and knowledge, that, compared with similar classes here, those I am among here seem of an inferior order of creation. Indeed, taken as a general remark, a man is much more truly a *man* with us than he is elsewhere; and, notwithstanding the faults that freedom brings out in him, it is much more gratifying and satisfying to the mind, the affections, the soul, to live in our state of society, than in any I know of on this side of the Atlantic.[27]

It would perhaps be difficult to come upon a passage more revealing of perceptiveness and willful exaggeration, realism and mythologizing, misapprehension and self-assuredness, and of the inner play of contradiction between insight and attitude, outlook and judgment, anxiety and self-satisfaction, attraction and rejection, than is contained in Ticknor's views on the state of the Metternichian world and on the nature of the revolution emerging from the economic and social bosom of old Europe. The American discovery of Europe was evidently quite early something different and more complicated than had been glimpsed through the classic grand tours of another day.

Looking back at this new American voyage of discovery and at the era during which it occurred, when they were both definitely over, that uniquely keen and demythicizing observer, Norton, tended to reduce the scope and to transcribe the meaning of the "Homeric Age" into Emersonian terms. Writing on September 13, 1870—the date is indeed noteworthy—from Siena to his good friend and confidant at Harvard University, the mathematician Chauncey Wright, Norton thus synthesized the waning of an American era:

"Best" men are indeed few in either country [America and England], but their influence is very strong on great numbers, and frames a temper which by degrees becomes a nation. No best man with us has done more to influence the nation than Emerson,—but the country has in a sense outgrown him. He was the friend and helper of its youth; but for the difficulties and strength of its man-

[27] *Ibid.*, 74–75.

hood we need the wisdom of the reflective and rational understanding, not that of the intuitions. Emerson (like most original men of the intuitive order) is in some sort the contemporary of his youth. He belongs to the pure and innocent age of the Presidency of Monroe or John Quincy Adams,—to the time when Plancus was Consul,—to *the day of Cacciaguida;* he is as remote almost from us as Plato himself . . . [italics mine]."[28]

"The day of Cacciaguida" is an unforgettably striking and evocative phrase.[29] It tells much of the American vision of Italy during the era of the early *Risorgimento* by suggesting its conversion into a function of the Emersonian ethos that inspired the American journey of discovery of Europe. For that vision of pre-Cavourian Italy by pre-Civil War Americans was, in fact, part of something larger and deeper in the shaping of a new American conscience: it partook of a phase and a stage toward the molding of American self-consciousness as a civilization.[30] Vigorously attempting to delineate for itself its own special features, that emergent civilization peered, so to speak, into the mirrors of its European past to find a cluster of commonly based values it believed it could easily recognize, in the hope that the reflection, unaffected by time and vicissitude, would or might accelerate progress toward the configuration of an indigenous cultural self-identity, but without cutting the roots of a spiritual continuity with Europe.[31]

Thus a prestigious encounter took place. What immediately resulted during the "Homeric Age" was neither automatic recognition nor instant rejection, but rather the beginning of a new America-Italy cultural dialectic. Now, if continuity is posited as a seamless bond of all cultural history, there is hardly any question that this dialectic may be seen as a thematic reprise of an older dialogue between the American mind and the idea of Europe.[32] There is, of course, much truth in this view. Yet it seems undeniable that during the first half of the nineteenth century the introduction into the America-Europe dialogue of new themes and their variations of a cultural, intellectual, and moral nature—as against the powerful political and economic strains and the social and ideological contrast

[28] *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton,* with Biographical Comment by His Daughter Sara Norton and M. A. DeWolfe Howe (2 vols., Boston, 1913), I, 399.

[29] For Dante's encounter with Cacciaguida and the latter's remembrances of wondrous things past in his Florence, see Dante, *Divine Comedy, Paradiso,* Canto XV, lines 20–147; Canto XVI, lines 16–153.

[30] See Daniel J. Boorstin, *America and the Image of Europe: Reflections on American Thought* (New York, 1960), 19–39; see also the perceptive summation on "the ambiguity of the moral structure" of Hawthorne's *The Marble Faun* in Strout, *American Image,* 106.

[31] For a strikingly original view on the American quest for "self-identity," see R. W. B. Lewis, *The American Adam: Innocence, Tragedy and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago, 1955), 1–5.

[32] On the eighteenth-century idea of Europe in America, see Strout, *American Image,* 6–50. Carlo Curcio, *Europa: Storia di un'idea* (2 vols., Florence, 1958), I, 438–59, deals chiefly with the European idea of America as a point of reference for the prerevolutionary "idea of Europe."

emerging between Europe and America during their common age of democratic revolution[33]—tended to change, indeed to transform, the essential character of the older historical encounter and, therefore, rendered it now something almost completely novel, subtler, evanescent in form but not less significant in substance.[34]

Terminological issues aside, the new America-Europe encounter appeared to pit an intimate American uncertainty concerning cultural self-consciousness against an almost irresistible ideal image of Europe. It thus became nearly inevitable that, given the equally elusive poles of the new dialogue, what had begun as an idyll in the American quest for Europe—as an idea, not as a palpable reality—was bound to end in shock and disenchantment, in a dramatic, if peaceful, inner new dissension. Rich and fascinating as the American discovery of Europe was, it developed into a tense situation that left practically the whole first generation of "passionate pilgrims" perplexed and disoriented, facing new and acute, truly existential, dilemmas. Confronted with an irrefragable choice between a direct, real, vital engagement, the engagement of mind to unfettered understanding of either past or present or of both at the same time, and insouciance, the American intelligence and conscience of the Emersonian era found themselves pursuing the myths and ghosts of the European past and the fictions and masks of the European present. Paradoxically, therefore, the very logic of the situation could not but lead the "European" function of the American mind, however expansive and open, flexible and democratic it might be or believe itself to be at home, exactly as Alexis de Tocqueville had acutely perceived during that early period, to prove itself incredibly conservative when it came face to face with a Europe in subtle flux and then sudden change, a Europe that it had not come to discover.[35]

With a few outstanding exceptions, most of the American pilgrims ultimately found themselves recoiling before a new Europe in the making below its restoration structure, and they were affected by profound shock and surprise when the revolutionary Europe of 1848–1849 burst in their face.[36] For neither the sort of sympathetic understanding, which the views

[33] See R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760–1800* (2 vols., Princeton, N. J., 1959–64), II, 509–46.

[34] See Henry Steele Commager, *The Search for a Usable Past and Other Essays in Historiography* (New York, 1967), 24–27.

[35] See Strout, *American Image,* 50–56, for a brief appraisal of the reactions of Americans in Europe to the Revolutions of 1848.

[36] On reactions in the United States to the European revolutions, see Arthur J. May, "The United States and the Mid-Century Revolutions," in *The Opening of an Era: 1848. An Historical Symposium,* ed. François Fejtö (new ed., New York, 1966), 204–22. On the postrevolutionary period, with particular reference to the attempted transatlantic connections between American and European "democrats," see Merle M. Curti, "'Young America,'" *American Historical Review,* XXXII (Oct. 1926), 34–55; Joseph Rossi, *The Image of America in Mazzini's*

expressed by Cooper and many of his lesser literary confreres on timeless Italy and eternal Rome had rendered almost prototypical, nor the brilliant boutades, which Ticknor and a few other American frequenters of the European beau monde of culture and politics had aimed with apparent equal irony against the corrupting influence of conservatism and revolution in Metternichian Europe, seemed now to have accurately captured or reflected the inner springs of the complex realities of contemporary Europe.[37] Though intelligence, powers of observation, and a kind of intellectual commitment were not less, there was no American Tocqueville among the early "passionate pilgrims" to Europe. As will be pointed out below, Norton came perhaps closest to being such an observer of Europe as Tocqueville had been of America, but at a later time, in different circumstances, and with a temper of mind and a style of reflection that made him resemble not Tocqueville but that other "good European," Jakob Burckhardt.[38] For the elect band of the earlier American explorers of Europe, who had apparently come so well equipped with native realism, built-in pragmatism, and literary preparation, their European present proved even more elusive than a recapturing of the European past. Thus the period 1848–1849 in Europe became a veritable catalyst for the "Homeric" or Emersonian generation. The American cultural adventurers of that generation had set out upon a quest for permanent values of mind and

Writings (Madison, Wis., 1954), 75–104, on Giuseppe Mazzini, Lajos Kossuth, and "Young America" from 1850 to 1853.

[37] In their European travels both Cooper and Ticknor had, each in his fashion, sensed the general political problems of the 1820's and 1830's, but, on the whole, they responded to them from contrasting but equally "abstract" poles. Cooper, *Travels and Excursions,* II, 308–18, emphasized the need for "consolidation of all the Italian States . . . to direct the present energies to reforms, rather than revolution; though many here will tell you the former are to be obtained only through the latter. . . ." Ticknor, *Life, Letters, and Journals,* II, 230–42, corresponded from Boston with friends in Europe—among whom were Sir Charles Lyell, George T. Curtis, George S. Hillard, Horatio Greenough, and Prince John of Saxony—during 1848–1849; the theme with variations in most of Ticknor's letters of that period was that Europe was undergoing a "social revolution" that threatened "the cause of Christian civilization and the paramount interests of our common humanity." In the same letter of July 30, 1848, to Prince John of Saxony, Ticknor (*ibid.,* 236) continued: "We feel, to be sure, comparatively safe ourselves. Our people are young; we have room enough and bread enough for all; free institutions are the only ones that, even in colonial days, took root here; we have been gradually and thoroughly educated to them, and every year manage them with more practised skill; in short, from our vast local advantages and from the whole course of our history as a nation, a republic is a *truth* here; but what is it in France, or what can it be either there or in Germany?"

[38] Before 1860 neither Norton nor Burckhardt seems to have revealed any direct or sustained interest in contemporary history. (See Norton, *Letters,* I, 64–80, 136–78; *The Letters of Jacob Burckhardt,* ed. Alexander Dru [New York, 1955], 107–33.) On the other hand, Tocqueville may be said to have been one of the most acute contemporary "historians" of his Europe, as observer and participant; his interest and work in French social history and his attention to contemporary European life and politics, not pure intellectual curiosity, were among the underlying motivations that led him to study democracy in America. (See Commager, *Search for a Usable Past,* 186–89; see also Alexis de Tocqueville, *The European Revolution and Correspondence with Gobineau,* tr. and ed. John Lukacs [Garden City, N. Y., 1959], 5–8; *The Recollections of Alexis de Tocqueville,* tr. Alexander Teixeira de Mattos, ed. J. P. Mayer [New York, 1959], xiii–xxii.)

culture in a European world of which they believed themselves spiritual children. The quest waned and then ended when the pluralism and mobility of European life and politics overtook them and shook to the foundations their image of Europe, their vision of an almost changeless, timeless structure of European civilization.[39]

The Italian Revolutions of 1848 and, in particular, the Mazzinian experiment of the Roman Republic in 1849 became unique functions of the shattering of that American vision of Europe through their bringing to an irreversible end the pristine phase of the American "dream of Arcadia" in Italy.[40] While most of the "passionate pilgrims" had already dispersed or had retired in isolated wonderment before the sudden mobility of Italian life, a few of them quickly banished the last remnants of their American "innocence" and made themselves ready to face and accept the blows of Italian reality. Soon they at least glimpsed values in the Italian revolutionary struggle that none of their predecessors had dreamed of in their visions of Italian culture and politics exactly because most of them had become as if transfixed by their nostalgia for a classic Italian past or by their contemplation of contemporary Italian life as mere choreographical pageantry.[41] Thus those Americans who held fast before the onslaught of

[39] James, *William Wetmore Story,* I, 6: "The dawn of the American consciousness of the complicated world it was so persistently to annex is the more touching the more primitive we make that consciousness; but we must recognize that the latter can scarcely be interesting to us in proportion as we make it purely primitive." Brooks, *Literature in New England,* I, 462–63: "In days to come, this feeling [the "yearning" to return home], which Hawthorne had begun to share,—a feeling that unsettled him, indeed,—was to play a part in American culture as marked as that of the 'wanderers' of Pushkin's Russia. The most exotic writers, hitherto, had had the unquestioning instinct of homing pigeons, which brought them back from every foreign journey. The great tradition of the Revolution, the feeling of the national destiny, the prevalence of the classical studies that always made the mind its 'own place,' had rooted them in the Western soil. They had felt that they were building a civilization; and, in fact, it was not until after the Civil War that the great diaspora began and with it the tradition of deracination. . . . Then this yearning for an older homeland rose in people's minds and men of sensibility flocked to Europe, not to study, as in former days, and carry their spoils back, like traveling Romans, but as if they could reascend the river of time." While I agree with the substance of both James's characterization of "the dawn of the American consciousness of the complicated world" and Brooks's beautiful description of the American "wanderers' " yearning for "home," I believe, as I suggest in the text, that the first important moment of crisis for both that "consciousness" and that "instinct" had already occurred by mid-century. (See the implicit treatment of this problem by Strout, *American Image,* 51–56.)

[40] See Baker, *Fortunate Pilgrims,* 188–92, on the disinterest of Americans in Italy in Italian "political events"; for interest at "home," see Howard R. Marraro, *American Opinion of the Unification of Italy, 1846–1861* (New York, 1932), 28–47; Roy Merel Peterson, "Echoes of the Italian Risorgimento in Contemporary American Writers," *PMLA,* XLVII (Mar. 1932), 220–40.

[41] Though referring to the late 1860's and not to the immediate post-1849 period, the following transcription of James's reaction to Italy's national movement seems to capture the essence of the preceding decade's American response: "Henry was in Italy during the last months of the *Risorgimento.* The older, divided Italy, however, has a way of transcending the immediate political ferment and upheaval and facing unperturbed the parade of centuries." The "transcription" is by Leon Edel, *Henry James: The Untried Years, 1843–1870* (Philadelphia, 1953), 303.

Italian historical vicissitudes and then sought to participate, each in his way, in a truly vital experience of the Italian people, saw their quest of Italy fulfilled and doubly rewarded. For them, an immediate and active revaluation of myth as a function of history and of history as a function of life became impelling and realizable. Even more important, what had occurred throughout Europe and Italy in 1848 and what they saw with their own eyes in the siege of Rome, in the heroic resistance of the Roman Republic of 1849, brought back with full force a consciousness of the tragic element in human action and ineluctable historic vicissitude. For, contrary to Norton's later emphasis on the lack of the "wisdom of the reflective and rational understanding," what the Emersonian "age of innocence" appeared to have truly lost was the sense of the tragedy lurking in human history.

The surviving documents of what, within its limitations, may be seen as an Italian prelude to the great American crisis of conscience, which, on a stupendously vaster basis and in tragic dimensions, culminated in the American Civil War, are few but extremely revealing and symbolical. Theodore Dwight's account of the Roman Republic and the siege of Rome of 1849 is doubtlessly archaic and tendentious, but it captures the mood of almost phrenetic expectation roused and messianic fervor stirred in certain American Protestant quarters over the second (not yet the last) "fall of the temporal power."[42] On the other hand, one cannot but still read in wonder and fascination the eyewitness descriptions of the last days of the Roman Revolution contained in Story's diary of 1849.[43] Above all, the impressions of Italy and the confessions testifying to the intimate metamorphosis Margaret Fuller was undergoing during 1847–1849, as recorded in her letters to special friends and in the economical entries of her diaries, particularly in those running from January 1 to March 15,

[42] See Theodore Dwight, *The Roman Republic of 1849, with an Account of the Inquisition and the Siege of Rome and Biographical Sketches* (New York, 1851), a rather fanatically "angry" book, practically exhorting Protestant Americans and all who professed to love "intelligence, virtue, truth, and the Bible" to undertake a kind of crusade to liberate Italy from "Jesuits, inquisitors, and Romish ecclesiastics"; with all its tendentiousness and distortion of facts, Dwight's book reveals an immediacy, a fervor, a commitment to the Mazzinian cause that elicits respect. For an authoritative interpretation of the religious questions raised by the Roman Republic of 1849, see Giorgio Spini, *Risorgimento e Protestanti* (Naples, 1956), 265–71, 322–35; see also Rossi, *The Image of America,* 31–46; Howard R. Marraro, "The Religious Problem of the Risorgimento as Seen by Americans," *Church History,* XXV (Mar. 1956), 41–62. On official American relations with the Papal State, see *United States Ministers to the Papal States: Instructions and Despatches, 1848–1868,* ed. Leo F. Stock (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1933).

[43] James, *William Wetmore Story,* I, 93–167, for entries, excerpts, summaries, and commentary on the diaries of Story's Italian experience during the Revolutions of 1848–1849; particularly revealing are the entries in the diary under the dates of Apr. 30, May 3, 5, 13, 19, and June 18, 1849. On the relations between James and Story, see Leon Edel, *Henry James: The Conquest of London, 1870–1881* (Philadelphia, 1962), 89–94, 109–10, 123–25.

1849,[44] do lead one to believe that she, now, during those agonizing Roman days of glory and doom, having become the Marchesa Ossoli, might well have written, as she herself attested, not just another chronicle of Italian political calamities but a full-fledged, finished piece of contemporary history under the title of "History of Italian Liberation."[45] Yet it was not to be. On that fearful day of July 1850, fate intervened when she was practically in sight of home and friends, off Fire Island, to destroy Fuller, her husband, their child, and the first manuscript of an American history of the *Risorgimento* before its Cavourian phase.[46] One cannot help but feel that the homage done in later days to the memory of Fuller by Emerson himself as well as other "survivors" of his own youthful "age of innocence" was a sort of vicarious participation on their side, a belated self-experiencing, in the tormenting but creative transmutation not only of "talk into life," as James put it, but of ideas into values, of myth into history, such the "haunting Margaret-ghost" continued to exemplify through the "realistic" American generation that came after her tragic death.[47]

Now it is clear that the major responses of American sensibility to Italy during the era of the *Risorgimento* had been substantially Arcadian. For most Americans, who had set out toward the "discovery of Europe," that sensibility had become almost the sole guide in their quest for an "eternal Italy," and, by generously converting mythopoeic compulsion into a rider of vital as well as intellectual necessity, it had led them to reduce the real Italy to an evanescent backdrop of a cultural *commedia* in which the "idols" of their minds were assigned the principal roles. Thus that American sensibility of the "Homeric Age" nursed the beginning of a long but

[44] The basic source on Fuller in general and on her Italian and Roman sojourn in particular is still R. W. Emerson *et al., Memoirs of Margaret Fuller* (2 vols., Boston, 1884), of which II, 208–70, contains excerpts from her diaries and letters from Rome running from May 1847 to July 8, 1849. These should be supplemented with the more critical addenda published by Leona Rostenberg, "Margaret Fuller's Roman Diary: Documents," *Journal of Modern History,* XII (Dec. 1940), 209–20, containing entries from Jan. 1 to Mar. 15, 1849. See also Leopold Wellisz, *The Friendship of Margaret Fuller D'Ossoli and Adam Mickiewicz* (New York, 1947), 12–39, for correspondence between Fuller and Mickiewicz from Feb. 1847 to Sept. 1849, interesting for the bond they saw between Italian and Polish national and cultural questions.

[45] On Fuller in Rome in 1848–1849, see Mason Wade, *Margaret Fuller: Whetstone of Genius* (New York, 1940), 215–53, 279–85; Madeleine B. Stern, *The Life of Margaret Fuller* (New York, 1942), 419–80; Arthur W. Brown, *Margaret Fuller* (New York, 1964), 101–10; and Rossi, *Image of America,* 47–61.

[46] Faith Chipperfield, *In Quest of Love: The Life and Death of Margaret Fuller* (New York, 1957), 287–301, for an account of the tragedy. On the question of the lost manuscript, see Wade, *Margaret Fuller,* 280–84.

[47] See James, *William Wetmore Story,* I, 130–31. In the foreword to *Margaret Fuller: American Romantic: A Selection from Her Writings and Correspondence,* ed. Perry Miller (New York, 1963), ix–xxviii, Miller offers an elaboration on his view that "the publications of Margaret Fuller constitute a gallant, albeit a minor, chapter in the history of America's quest for self-realization."

strange and ironical love affair between youthful intellectual America and ancient cultural Italy, but it also led the American mind to miss then and for a long time thereafter an equally promising, intimate, and fruitful encounter with a "young" modern Italy then stirring and struggling under the burden of a traditional system of politics and an archaic organization of society. However otherwise antithetical they may have been in their means and ends, all of the outstanding and active leaders of the Italian national revolution—Gioberti no less than Mazzini, Carlo Cattaneo no less than Cavour—were in fundamental agreement that the *Risorgimento* had to destroy a great part of the foundations and structure of the classic order of things in Italy.[48] Even those among the early and later "passionate pilgrims" to Italy, like Cooper, Washington Irving, Ticknor, Hawthorne, and Norton himself before 1860, who enjoyed the company and confidences of either the conservative or the liberal ruling classes or both, of either the moderate-radical or the revolutionary Italian elites, only vaguely and sentimentally or momentarily and reluctantly attempted to comprehend this. Fuller had been the shining exception: her friendship with Mazzini had not remained a mere emotional experience; rather, it had become an intellectual bridge leading from "talk to life," from contemplation to commitment, from sentimental experience to sustained action. Perhaps she alone, in her fashion, intimately sensed the exquisite irony that had in fact brought it about that what for her contemporaries, indeed for herself before her Italian journey, in America had been the paradisiacal Emersonian "day of Cacciaguida," for Italians had corresponded to the infernal, restless, and defiant day of Farinata.[49]

Similar antinomies, a similar irony, had prevailed in the larger American voyage of discovery of Europe. Here, too, what the shock of the European Revolutions of 1848 had not fully achieved in bringing new recognition of history at work in Europe was destined to be differently experienced at home through to the bitter end of the American Civil War. Thereafter, when the American intelligentsia once again returned to Europe, it was slowly to discover that there, too, history had taken its toll upon the phantasms of the past: Europe, had also been transformed during the two decisive decades 1850–1870 by forces that were at the same time similar and yet subtly different from those that had led to the mortal collision

[48] Full critical documentation would take us far afield here, but for incisive historical characterizations of the four leaders mentioned, see Luigi Salvatorelli, *Pensiero e azione del Risorgimento* (new ed., Turin, 1963), 91–111, 116–19, 139–45, 150–55, 167–69. For an interpretation of the interaction between the thought and action of the four "demiurges" of the Italian national revolution, see A. William Salomone, "Statecraft and Ideology in the *Risorgimento*," *Italica*, XXXVIII (No. 3, 1961), 163–94.

[49] Dante, *Divine Comedy, Inferno*, Canto VI, line 79; Canto X, lines 32–136.

between two social and cultural worlds in a bloody and perhaps truly irrepressible conflict whose denouement changed the face and the spirit of old Emersonian America.[50] Thus it was that, after 1870 and through still another generation, journeys toward the rediscovery of Europe were once again undertaken by the survivors from among the older as well as by the new "passionate pilgrims." But now, though the physical routes were the same, logbooks registered different cultural itineraries and different spiritual destinations. For, excluding those internal exiles, who, like Walt Whitman and Herman Melville, followed on other tracks a nonconformist tradition of vital disengagement from Europe as culture or history, a tradition earlier exemplified by Henry David Thoreau, Edgar Allan Poe, and, ultimately, by Hawthorne, most of the new American pilgrims to Europe during the latter part of the nineteenth century became polarized into two major wings. On one side stood the old (and some of the newer) professional "culturalists" led by the surviving old poets from Cambridge (Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, William Cullen Bryant, James Russell Lowell) and then, each in his own special fashion of subtlety and irony, by Howells and Mark Twain.[51] At the other pole stood, on special heights,

[50] A generation ago Robert C. Binkley, *Realism and Nationalism, 1852–1871* (New York, 1935), 181–84, made a rather sensational revisionist case in presenting the thesis that during the 1850's and 1860's Europe and America underwent a common crisis of "federative polity," equally traceable to the emergence of "irresistible forces of nationalism," "artfully created by the extraordinary political gymnastics of two makers of history [Cavour and Bismarck]"; "when the nationalist historians commend these achievements to the conscience of the world there is present in their writings, explicitly stated or implicitly assumed, the ethic of success and survival, where Darwinism and *Realpolitik* meet. . . ." Suggestive and attractive as it may be judged, it seems to me that Binkley's work should be carefully correlated not only with more cautious, if less genial, research and historiographical work on his major fields of comparative reference for his generalizations—that is, the *Risorgimento,* the *Reichsgründung,* and the American Civil War—but also with the world and European political moment and the American ethos of the brilliant historian's "response" as given through his reinterpretation of nineteenth-century European politics. In the light of the post-1945 wave of revisionist historical literature on the *Risorgimento* issued in Italy and abroad—Marxist, ultraradical, neodemocratic, or Catholic as the currents that contributed to it may have been—it has not been noted, as far as I know, that Binkley was the first full-fledged American revisionist of the liberal historiographical interpretation of the *Risorgimento.* (See the critical review of that revisionist historical literature in A. William Salomone, "The *Risorgimento* between Ideology and History: The political Myth of *rivoluzione mancata,*" *American Historical Review,* LXVIII [Oct. 1962], 38–56.) Maturi, *Interpretazioni del Risorgimento,* 580–87, rightly called attention to the fine monographic studies of Howard McGaw Smyth as significant contributions to "American revisionism of the history of the *Risorgimento.*" The first two of Smyth's articles on Piedmontese constitutional and diplomatic questions in 1848–1849 appeared almost contemporaneously with the publication of Binkley's book. (See Howard McGaw Smyth, "The Armistice of Novara: A Legend of a Liberal King," *Journal of Modern History,* VII [June 1935], 141–82, and "Austria at the Crossroads: The Italian Crisis of June 1848," in *Essays in the History of Modern Europe,* ed. Donald C. McKay [New York, 1936], 63–78.) There is no mention of Binkley in Maturi's bibliocritical work.

[51] For anthological presentations of the consciousness and expression of these American men of letters vis-à-vis the problem of Europe and America, past and present, see *The Shock of Recognition: The Development of Literature in the United States by the Men Who Made It,* ed. Edmund Wilson (New York, 1955), a precious, illuminating documentary collection for the study of American literary, cultural, and spiritual life in the nineteenth century; *Dis-*

the dominant trinity of divided spirits constituted by Norton, Adams, and James. It is to Norton alone that both the economy and the central purport of this essay permit us to call special attention.[52]

Norton was one of the most complex and sensitive minds to emerge from the social and intellectual aristocracy of nineteenth-century Boston. For some time, particularly in the heyday of "scientific" and political historiography, Norton's name tended to be relegated to chronicles of classical and humanistic teaching at Harvard University during the last quarter of the century, to monographs on studies of Dante in America, and to accounts of social journalism and literary criticism. During the post-1945 decades in particular, Norton has reawakened curiosity and genuine interest not only as an eminent participant in the cultural "problem of Boston"[53] but also as a figure of major importance in the emergence of an American humanism, and, as such, he has found an excellent biographer.[54] And yet Norton's personality and quality of mind, not to speak of his academic activity at Harvard and of his influence, were such that study of him does not seem to be fully exhausted. Those who have written of Norton's participation in the continuing American pilgrimage to Europe during the second half of the nineteenth century have given a more or less conspicuous place to his professional interests in classical, literary, and aesthetic history.[55] It does not seem to me that he has been as clearly etched as he deserves as the social and cultural critic and practical contemporary "historian" of Italy and Europe during the crucial years of

covery of Europe, ed. Rahv, 173–228; *Testimonianze americane,* ed. Mann-Borgese, 171–274. On the fate of the "search for a usable past" in Emersonian and pre-Civil War America, see Commager, *Search for a Usable Past,* 9–24; Loren Baritz, *City on a Hill: A History of Ideas and Myths in America* (New York, 1964), 206–208.

[52] At Harvard University Norton was the "master" or "friend" of James and Adams. (See Brooks, *Literature in New England,* II, 250–56, on Norton's teaching at Harvard and particularly on his "colleague" Adams; *ibid.,* 276–95, on James; on Norton and James, see also Edel, *Henry James: The Conquest of London,* 77–78, 278–81; on James and Italy, see *id., Henry James: The Untried Years,* 279–336, and *Henry James: The Middle Years, 1882–1895* [Philadelphia, 1962], 193–237, 320–27, 347–53, 366–79; see also LaPiana, *Cultura americana e l'Italia,* 296–324.) For the best direct writing of James on Italy, in many cases amounting to exceptionally acute social and cultural commentary on post-*Risorgimento* developments, see his *Art of Travel,* ed. Morton D. Zabel (Garden City, N. Y., 1958), 313–425; and the rich, beautifully edited collection of Jamesian pieces in *Italian Hours* (Boston, 1909).

[53] Green, *Problem of Boston,* 122–41, for a chapter on Norton as "the aristocrat in a plutocracy."

[54] Kermit Vanderbilt, *Charles Eliot Norton: Apostle of Culture in a Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), vi–viii, who presents Norton as "a significant critic of his age—and ours . . . ," not "an original thinker but . . . an independent and sceptical mind" whose "restless intellectual waverings as the country grew and changed, together with his highly varied experience with men and movements, reflect in miniature a complex epoch in American history."

[55] Fucilla, *Teaching of Italian,* 97–99, gives a summary portrait of Norton as Dante scholar; Brooks, *Literature in New England,* II, 250–54, and *Dream of Arcadia,* 122–34, on Norton as a student of medieval art and on his friendship with John Ruskin; Vanderbilt, *Charles Eliot Norton,* 119–41, on Norton as teacher at Harvard.

transition from the European quasi-cosmopolitan era of pre-1860 to the national period that broke in full force after 1870.[56] It is to those aspects of Norton's attitudes and of his world view that, with Italy as a major point of reference, took special shape and found new expression on the basis of Norton's direct, close observation, literally on the spot in Europe during the unique transitional years 1868–1873, that I wish to call attention.

I am fully aware, of course, that, methodologically, by isolating those aspects of Norton's views on Europe during these years it is as if one were to study Burckhardt's complicated mind only through his reflections on contemporary history as found in his lectures and correspondence of the same period.[57] Conscious as I am of the dangers of making any analogies, particularly between two such individuals and minds, I have nevertheless been struck by certain impressive similarities of attitude and expression in Burckhardt and Norton as, from different angles of vision, they turned their gaze upon the same field of observation—the great historic change that they both saw as implicit in the dark moment of crisis of European life, politics, and culture during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. No less important, it has seemed revealing and suggestive that two such men, who apparently never knew each other, separated as they were by the worlds of biocultural differences as the Basel of Burckhardt and the Boston of Norton, by such contrasting intellectual interests as Burckhardt's in the civilization of the Renaissance in Italy and Norton's in the world of Dante, and, not least, by such diametrically opposed philosophical "traditions" or influences as were represented by the Schopenhauerian view of "the world as will and idea" and the Emersonian ethos of "innocence" and optimism, should have strangely arrived at a common vision of the crisis of values stirring below the structure and behind the façades of late nineteenth-century cultural and spiritual history.[58] Only

[56] *Ibid.*, 103–16, refers to Norton's return to Europe in 1868–1873 as a "European Interlude: Disillusionment" and notes the growth of a critical cultural attitude in him during those years.

[57] A close comparison of the tone and style and frequently the very substance of the epistolary "responses" expressed by Norton and Burckhardt during the years 1868–1872 proves quite strikingly suggestive toward comparative intellectual history. (See Norton, *Letters,* 302–514; *Letters of Jacob Burckhardt,* ed. Dru, 133–57.) In order to place these similarities or analogies within their proper biocultural contexts, see Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation* (Boston, 1948), 179–94; Vanderbilt, *Charles Eliot Norton,* 142–84. Whether Norton could have become the subject of such a monumental study as Werner Kaegi's *Jacob Burckhardt: Ein Biographie* (3 vols., Basel, 1947–56) is a different matter; it is somewhat difficult to imagine such an analysis as is contained in Volume III, 647–769, of Kaegi's work, on Burckhardt's writing of *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860), even for the best of Norton's medieval and Dante studies. At such a point all similarities end.

[58] For brief, comparative purposes, see James Hastings Nichols' introduction to Jakob Burckhardt, *Force and Freedom: Reflections on History* (New York, 1943), 3–76; Vanderbilt, *Charles Eliot Norton,* 225–34. On the different philosophical influences of Arthur Schopen-

this brief notation of the intriguing coincidence can, unfortunately, be made here.

Norton's travels to Europe and particularly to Italy had been relatively frequent and always rich in experience before 1860.[59] But it has perhaps not been sufficiently emphasized that his interests, reactions, and responses of the pre-1860 visits underwent so profound a change in degree during his return and stay in Europe after the American Civil War that his organic outlook, indeed almost his very *forma mentis,* seems to have undergone a transformation in kind. If his correspondence from Europe during the period 1868–1873 reveals no less fascination on Norton's part with the European intellectual and Italian cultural worlds, it also shows him turning them, or his impressions of them, almost with inescapable fixity, into functions of his concentration upon a new search for meaning in the interplay of social, national, and spiritual forces he saw at work throughout Western Europe in general and in post-Cavourian Italy and Bismarckian Germany in particular. Thus Norton seems to have undergone his own special shock of recognition. Social and intellectual aristocrat that he was, he had perhaps hoped to elude the harsh realities emerging in post-Civil War America.[60] He had returned to Europe only to be almost immediately impressed that the Continent and Italy, too, themselves were undergoing a similar process of historic metamorphosis that found common expression in a similar political, social, and cultural phenomenon—a process of "Americanization"! Norton punctuated his impressions of this "process" in a letter to Miss Meta N. Gaskell written from Florence on December 21, 1869:

Florence has greatly changed since we were here together. . . . I hate Americanism out of America. Here all that reminds me of Imperial Paris or of Democratic New York is detestable, out of harmony with the nature of the land and with the

hauer on Burckhardt and of Emerson upon Norton, it is interesting to note that, during the crucial years 1868–1872, while the Swiss historian referred to the German thinker as "the philosopher" of the present and future par excellence, Norton, on the other hand, underwent an almost total, definitive disenchantment over Emerson as a mere survivor of his youthful "innocence." (See *Letters of Jacob Burckhardt*, ed. Dru, 144, 145, 147, for the Swiss historian's references to Schopenhauer as "the philosopher.") In Norton, *Letters,* I, 502–14, the entry in his journal dated May 15, 1873, describes Norton's voyage back to America on the *Olympus* in the company of Emerson, and the disillusionment is made inescapably, almost brutally, clear: "Never before in intercourse with him had I been so impressed with the limits of his mind. His optimistic philosophy has hardened into a creed, with the usual effects of a creed in closing the avenues of truth. He can accept nothing as fact that tells against his dogma. His optimism becomes a bigotry, and, though of a nobler type than the common American conceit of the preeminent excellence of American things as they are, has hardly less of the quality of fatalism. To him this is the best of all possible worlds, and the best of all possible times. He refuses to believe in disorder and evil. . . ."

[59] See *ibid.,* 26–202, for the scope, focus, and direction of his interests before 1860.

[60] See *ibid.,* 284–301, for certain reactions during the three years immediately following the end of the Civil War.

spirit of the associations that belong to it. . . . Constitutional government of the English type is not a panacea. Is it quite certain that it is the ultimate decree of absolute wisdom for England herself? For my part I should think poorly of mankind if they did not before long discover some better political arrangements than any that have been tried as yet. But Italy has taken a Constitutional system, as a sick man takes a physician's prescription, and she is very uncomfortable from its effects. . . .[61]

Two weeks earlier he had been much more elaborate and emphatic, from a different angle, in giving his impressions to his confidant at Harvard, Chauncey Wright:

You can study national traits in doors and windows and balconies,—national traits in individual instances,—you can read history in battlements and chimney-pots, or romance in arcades and terraces. There used to be even more of this expressiveness and historic interest in the great Italian towns than there is now,—for the prosperity, so-called, of the last few years has developed the commercial and trading taste—the taste of New York and Paris,—the taste for what is fashionable and fresh and showy,—so that many old walls have been torn down and whitewashed, many precious bits of art or character sacrificed, that the new generation may have the satisfaction of displaying its new wealth in the style which emulates that of Chicago and St. Louis. Italy in losing tyrants, in becoming constitutional, in taking to trade, is doing what she can in spoiling her charm. The railroad whistle just behind the church of Santa Maria Novella, or just behind the Campo Santo at Pisa, sounds precisely as it sounds on the Back Bay or at the Fitchburg Station,—and it and the common school are Americanizing the land to a surprising degree. Happy country! Fortunate people! Before long they may hope for their Greeleys, their Beechers, and their Fisks! . . .[62]

Now for Norton all this was happening to Italy in a new period of grave world crisis since the "degradation" of cultural values in different measure but with similar force was a process common to the United States and Europe. The end of the old cosmopolitan culture, with its freedom and refinement and "beauty," had been consummated through a variety of erosive and destructive, but human and secular, demonic forces that, on the most obvious historic level, were exemplified by the successful fusion of industrial capitalism, political nationalism, and utilitarian liberalism. His critical and, in some places, caustic and almost totally negative reactions to the making of a national constitutional state and the establishment of a protocapitalistic regime in Italy amounted to an implicit castigation of the Liberal-Cavourian denouement of the *Risorgimento* process itself. It seems that for Norton Italy had to lose its "tyrants," but not just to erect a national constitutional government of "the English type"!

[61] *Ibid.*, 372–73. From Rome, in May 1870, Norton had this to report to his friend Ruskin on the problem of change and permanence: "Rome retains something still of its prerogative of immobility,—and resists with steady persistency the flood of 'American' barbarism and of universal materialism which is desolating Europe. . . ." (*Ibid.*, 384.)

[62] Norton to Wright, Dec. 5, 1869, *ibid.*, 369–70.

On September 24, 1860, he had dispatched from Newport to his English friend, the poet Arthur Hugh Clough, his almost dithyrambic exultation over the Garibaldian epos then at its climax in the liberation of the Italian south:

The progress of Garibaldi is just now even of greater interest to us than that of our own election campaign. It is a fine thing to be living in times which can produce such a man, and in which such events as those in Italy are taking place. History was never more interesting than now. The new birth of Italy is already the grandest event of the modern period. It gives one fresh hope for the future,—and whatever disappointments may follow, enough has already been done to confirm faith and to make patience easy. . . .[63]

There was a decade later perhaps some justification but certainly irony incarnate in Norton's revision of his "faith" in the cause of the "new birth of Italy" and of his "patience" with history. Now the disenchantment appeared already consummated. Neither would Norton have any longer agreed with the sense, if perhaps still with the spirit, of the appraisal of the *Risorgimento* made even earlier during that remote eponymous year 1860 by the young compatriot, Adams, who, in later days, was to be somewhat close to him at Harvard, when he had written practically from the midst of Garibaldi's camp:

For us Americans, all these Italian troubles reduce themselves simply to a single process, by which one more of the civilized races is forming itself on the ground that we have always stood on, and taking up as its creed the same list of ideas that we have always declared to be the heart and soul of modern civilization. . . .[64]

After the American Civil War Norton was infinitely less certain than Adams was to be in much later days as to whether "the heart and soul of modern civilization" really lay with the way and the wave of liberal Europe and national Italy. On this account, even before the end of that eventful and fateful decade of the 1860's, Norton saw the future in very dark, almost Burckhardtian, terms:

The future is very dark in Europe, and to me it looks as if we were entering on a period quite new in history—one in which parties will divide, and from which

[63] *Ibid.*, 210.

[64] *A Henry Adams Reader,* ed. Elizabeth Stevenson (Garden City, N. Y., 1959), 19–20. Adams had gone to "interview" Garibaldi in Sicily in the midst of the expedition of the Thousand and had met him at Palermo on June 9, 1860; on June 15, 1860, Adams was in Naples, from where he sent the second dispatch to the Boston *Courier,* which published both letters on July 10 and 13, 1860 [they were reprinted in the *American Historical Review,* XXV (Jan. 1920), 241–55]. Looking back upon that critical year of the *Risorgimento* Adams wrote: "At that moment, in the summer of 1860, Garibaldi was certainly the most serious of the doubtful energies of the world; the most essential to gauge rightly. Even then society was divided between the banker and the anarchist. One or the other, Garibaldi must serve. Himself a typical anarchist, sure to overwhelm Europe and alarm empires bigger than Naples, his success depended on his mind; his energy was beyond doubt. . . . In his own eyes Garibaldi might be a Napoleon or a Spartacus; in the hands of Cavour he might become a Condottiere; in the eyes of history he might, like the rest of the world, be only the vigorous player in the game he did not understand. . . ." (Adams, *Education,* 94–95.)

outbreak after outbreak of passion and violence will arise, will no longer be political but immediately social. Everywhere in the lower classes,—that is, in the labouring classes and those below them,—not merely a spirit of discontent exists, but a more or less distinctly formulated opposition to existing social institutions and arrangements. In Italy, just as in Switzerland, Germany, France, and England, there is complaint about division of property, talk of rights of labour, of rates of wages, and other such matters, no longer in the calm style of professorial political economy, but in the heated discussions of conventions of workingmen, and committees of trade societies. Much talk is helpless enough,—vague, wild, and ignorant to the last degree,—but not the less dangerous for that. Some of it is wrong, full of abstract sense, and quite unanswerable from the point of view of one who believes in and aims at the ultimate greatest good of the greatest number. It is all interesting not so much as an expression of what, alas! we know only too well, the wretchedness of the poor, as of what they desire, believe in and hope for, as affording glimpses of what they imagine to be the true social state, of an ideal at which they aim. Whether our period of economical enterprise, unlimited competition, and unrestrained individualism, is the highest stage of human progress is to me very doubtful; and sometimes when I see the existing conditions of European (to say nothing of American) social order, I wonder whether our civilization can maintain itself against the forces which are banding together for the destruction of many of the institutions in which it is embodied, or whether we are not to have another period of decline, fall, and ruin and revival, like that of the first thirteen hundred years of our era. It would not grieve me much to know that this were to be the case. No man who knows what society at the present day really is, but must agree that it is not worth preserving on its present basis. . . .[65]

Norton's impressively disenchanted view of Europe contained in this passage and others like it was expressed on the eve of that decisive European year, 1870. What seems truly new and intriguing in it, besides the emphatic reiteration of familiar attacks on materialist currents of thought and utilitarian philosophy, are the references to the discontent among "the labouring classes and those below them," to the "distinctly formulated opposition to existing social institutions and arrangements," and, finally, to "the heated discussions of conventions of workingmen." Despite the cultured phraseology and the generalization of facts and ideas it contains, it is worth noting that, contrary to some possible rapid impression, there is indeed a world of difference between the way Norton notices and writes of these phenomena and the abstract reference made to revolution by Ticknor a generation earlier.[66] There seems hardly any

[65] Norton to Wright, Dec. 5, 1869, Norton, *Letters*, I, 371–72.

[66] "I have little heart to write of the actual [Franco-Prussian] war. You will know before this reaches you whether Paris is besieged or not. The prospect of this—of the long train of miseries that it opens—makes me very heavy-hearted. A siege of Paris means, I fear, protracted anarchy and a new *terreur* in France." (Norton to Wright, Sept. 13, 1870, *ibid.*, 401.) For other, recurring, comments on European men and events from Jan. 1870 to Oct. 1872, see *ibid.*, 373–419. For two of the latest and best treatments of the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune, see Michael Howard, *The Franco-Prussian War: The German Invasion of France, 1870–1871* (London, 1962); Alistair Horne, *The Fall of Paris: The Siege and the Commune, 1870–1871* (London, 1965).

question that, given the man's social and cultural awareness, his perceptiveness and depth of feeling, and the range of his new interests, Norton had come to know of and to give fearful attention to the rising forces of European socialism during the era of the First International. The names of the most important social revolutionaries of his day in Europe, and certainly not that of Karl Marx, do not appear in Norton's published correspondence. Yet it does not seem too bold to guess, on the basis of internal evidence, implicit reference, and inference, that Norton was directly aware if not of the specific names or the particularized identities of the demiurges of the European social revolution—even the professionals, the police and their agents, sometimes had trouble identifying lesser figures within the varieties of revolutionary movements during that period—at least of the doctrines, methods, and "aims" of the major movements.[67] A person with an intelligence and curiosity such as Norton's could not be in the Florence or Siena of the late 1860's and, for that matter, in any other important city of Italy and Europe, without becoming more than vaguely conscious that new, radical, revolutionary ideologies were abroad, as they so patently were, among the "labouring classes and those below them." Norton was possibly one of the first new or returned American pilgrims to Europe—other than those Americans who had official interest in or connection with some of the transnational revolutionary movements —who consciously registered the preliminary tremors of what many from among the old conservative and the new liberal ruling classes in Italy, Germany, France, and England, to say nothing of the Central and Eastern European areas, feared as some sort of brewing social convulsion, of an incipient, if not too precisely definable, "revolt of the masses."[68] This convulsion loomed even more ominously because, through the very vagueness of its contours, organization, and objectives, it tended to be translated into an insidious mystery, if not an organic conspiracy, as it became darkly reflected in the mirrors of social fears, even more clouded over, in 1870–1871, by grave national and international crises. Thus it was that Norton pre-emptively voiced not merely his own but, in a sense and in his fashion, the uncertainties and fears of some of the European political classes when he wrote of an emerging threat to the entire scheme of

[67] From a vast old and new literature, the following works dealing with the period of the First International are most useful for their emphasis, although from different points of view, upon the Italian aspects of the revolutionary movements, ideologies, and activities, from 1864 to 1872: Leo Valiani, *Storia del movimento socialista* (Florence, 1951), 117–47, 173–240; Aldo Romano, *L'Unità italiana e la prima Internazionale, 1861–1871* (Bari, 1966).

[68] See Federico Chabod, *Storia della politica estera italiana dal 1870 al 1896: Le premesse* (Bari, 1951), 325–454, for a masterly analysis of "order and freedom" in Italy and Europe following the close of the national revolutions and the social ferment they had brought in their train by 1870–1871.

"existing social institutions and arrangements," and, therefore, conservative and liberal, aristocratic and bourgeois, national and cosmopolitan.[69] Before the great crisis of 1870–1871 was over, the "vague" specters of Blanquism, Bakuninism, and Marxism had indeed become flesh on the social stage of Europe.[70]

The eschatology of doom in Norton's correspondence of these years is remarkable in itself, but even more so because of the fact that, after 1870, when the Franco-Prussian War had run its dreadful course and the Paris Commune had fallen in its bloody and tragic denouement, Norton, again like Burckhardt during the same period, discovered still another elemental source for the dreary fate that had overtaken Europe through war and, now, peace—Germanism.[71] By the fall of 1871, when the war was over and the great fear of social "terror" had been subdued, Norton felt as if he had come upon the core, the germs and symptoms, of a new European spiritual "sickness" that would not be so easily or quickly banished. Now not only the French convulsions shrank before it but the "Italian troubles" paled into petty annoyances as he crossed the Alps on his way to Germany. As he wrote John Ruskin immediately after reaching "the other side" in July 1871: "It was with a homesick sinking of the heart that I left Italy."[72] On November 17, 1871, writing, quite properly from Dresden, to his friend G. W. Curtis in the United States, Norton confessed his new secret:

The contrast in the effect of Italy and Germany on one's feelings in respect to life is curious. In Italy one feels as if one had had experience, had known what it was to live, had learned to know *something* if very little, and could at least enjoy *much*. Here, on the contrary, one is convicted of inexperience and ignorance at every turn, everybody is hard at work learning and knows already a vast deal, and you are forced to begin to go to school again with the sense of having much lost time to make up for, and of the impropriety of enjoyment unless the pleasure is united with instruction. So *we* are all hard at work here,—and shall return home knowing a few words of German, and the simpler principles of the science of harmony. . . . It seems to me that what has been attained [in Europe] is rather external uniformity than essential unity; and that if much good has been gained, much has also been lost. One would desire to look forward to the time, but it is so distant as to be out of range of vision, when all that is precious and

[69] On the repercussions of the Commune, particularly in Italian liberal, democratic, and Mazzinian quarters, see Nello Rosselli, *Mazzini e Bakounine* (Florence, 1938), 279–98.

[70] For detailed new studies on the Italian aspects of the social revolutionary forces, many of which found their centers of action in Florence during the period corresponding to Norton's stay at Villa Spannocchi and at Bellosguardo, see, esp., Elio Conti, *Le origini del socialismo a Firenze (1860–1880)* (Rome, 1950); Gastone Manacorda, *Il movimento operaio italiano attraverso i suoi congressi (1853–1892)* (Rome, 1952), 48–75; Richard Hostetter, *The Italian Socialist Movement: Origins (1860–1882)* (Princeton, N. J., 1958), 122–211.

[71] On the end of old Europe subsumed under the historical impact of victorious Bismarckism and hegemonic Prussianism after 1870–1871, see Chabod, *Storia della politica estera*, 61–177.

[72] Norton to Ruskin, undated letter, Norton, *Letters*, I, 406.

delightful in the varieties of individual development should have a new growth out of the rich monotonous level of human unity. But in Germany we no longer philosophize on such matters, and we trouble ourselves little concerning any questions but those of which the solution admits of immediate and practical application. The German has been surfeited with metaphysics and ontology till he has taken a disgust to them. Nothing that has lost material value pleases him. Ideas he despises; facts are his treasure. The change in the spiritual temper of Germany is surprising, but one sees that it is to be accounted for in part as a natural reaction against the over-tension of the intellectual faculties in the attempt to solve the insoluble, and to make ropes out of sand—and partly as the result of the splendid display of the virtues of fact, of practical training, of thorough positive drilling, during the last war. Having led the world in the regions of abstractions, Germany now proposes to lead it in that of realities. . . .[73]

For Norton it seemed as if the historic vise had been tightened on both sides upon the life and spirit of Europe. Coming from different social and moral directions, the material Americanization and the spiritual Prussianization of Europe appeared to be working to the same end: the agony of a classic civilization. Norton, the American aristocrat of culture whose complex and antinomic system of values was essentially humanistic, the superb student and commentator of Dante, had become the keen observer and critic of an emerging era of "transvaluation of values" in European and American civilization.[74] Tension filled and polarized as it came to be between the positive liberal-humanistic inclinations of the intellectual aristocrat and the negative stance of the cultural critic, Norton's world view had involved him, before his return to America, in rearing a spiritual citadel of resistance against the major historic currents of his age—materialism, individualism, utilitarianism, Positivism, scientism, industrialism, capitalism, and socialism. His new sustaining "faith" appeared now and for a long time to come to be rooted upon his exposure to the varieties of American and European history whose burdens he consistently sought to repudiate by holding fast to a fundamentally cosmopolitan vision of culture and politics. All that he had seen and contemplated had aroused in him an almost irrepressible antagonism to the "external uniformity" and internal sterility of those nineteenth-century movements in Europe that had spelled the definitive end of the universalism that his beloved master, Dante, had yearned for in *De Monarchia*.[75] Before

[73] *Ibid.*, 410–12.

[74] Vanderbilt, *Charles Eliot Norton*, 185–216, on the "Intellectual as Critic."

[75] Though from all appearances and the evidence in his vast bibliography, as reconstructed by Vanderbilt (*ibid.*, 243–53), Norton did not write any sustained exegetical work on *De Monarchia*, all that he seems to have assumed concerning the historical underpinning of Dante's masterpiece bespeaks an implicit acceptance of Dante's dualistic universalistic vision. Norton confessed: "The 'Divina Commedia' is not only the crown of the religious achievement in Italy, —but its close. It opens the way to scepticism,—and Petrarch comes sentimentally dawdling, and Boccaccio jesting, down the road, with the whole tribe of unbelievers behind them. . . ." (Norton to Ruskin, Dec. 29, 1872, Norton, *Letters*, I, 451.)

long he saw even some of his best friends forsake the ideal "vision."[76] No wonder that in his fits of cultural despair Norton as much as cried out during those last days of old Europe that he desired to see preserved amid the ruins some spiritual island upon which one might resist the internal barbarization of Europe. For him, and for new pilgrims who followed him, that "island" could only be Italy. Early in January 1871 Norton wrote to Gaskell:

> I have been living mainly on Italian Chronicles and Cinquecento biographies. How this people kept any spark of sweetness and charity and humanity alive through the burnings and massacres of the middle ages and through the wanton wickedness of the Renaissance, must always be a matter of wonder. And now, if one knows how to live with them, they are the sweetest people on earth. If I ever come back, may I be born Italian. . . .[77]

The American "dream of Arcadia" would be pursued again through another generation, but, despite appearances, never as before the great divide of 1860–1870. The European and Italian historical passage from a post-Romantic to a neorealist culture and from a quasi-cosmopolitan (and, paradoxically, still provincial) to a national (but ironically trans-European) structure of politics was irreversibly achieved during that decade, and there was no return. During the Emersonian "age of innocence," which, in a suggestive sense, had corresponded to the Mazzinian era of the *Risorgimento,* the American idea of Italy had strained to emerge from the half-conscious attempt to recapture the classic past as a fixed model of perfection. In their quest, the first "passionate pilgrims" had engaged in a flight backward, away from Italian realities that they bravely but vainly sought to translate into the content of their "dream." The idyll had been shattered by the Revolutions of 1848–1849. Thereafter, when the brief, painful moment of acute crisis, rather than remaining an isolated episode, had almost in-

[76] In a letter dated June 15, 1870, Norton thanked Ruskin for a copy he had sent his American friend of his "Inaugural Lecture" at Oxford the previous February. In the light of what Ruskin had told his learned audience about England's national and colonial-imperialist "mission," Norton's comment reveals, among other things, the profound gulf that had already opened between the two friends' vision of contemporary nationalism and the requirements of world order. Norton subtly reproached Ruskin for the latter's succumbing to the new forces of destruction: "With what seems to me a too narrow patriotism I should quarrel. I believe it better, a higher ideal, to endeavour to make one's nation only *prima inter pares,* and not to encourage that spirit of jealous superiority which has been, as I read history, the curse of Greece and of England alike. Make England beautiful and strong, but believe that she can be neither beautiful nor strong, unless side by side with her the other civilized powers and countries grow beautiful and strong also. England cannot be selfishly saved." (Norton to Ruskin, June 15, 1870, *ibid.,* 389.) It is interesting that much later Bertrand Russell wrote that Ruskin's "lecture, in particular, had importance as an inspiration to Cecil Rhodes, who came up to Oxford shortly after its delivery, and regarded it as expressing the guiding principles of his life." (*Freedom and Organization, 1814–1914* [new ed., New York, 1962], 408.)

[77] Norton to Gaskell, Jan. 2, 1871, Norton, *Letters,* I, 404.

evitably turned into the long attrition of the age of the European national revolutions and the era of the American Civil War, the shock persisted as a pervasive and profound scission in the American conscience. The tendency on the part of the returning or new dispassionate pilgrims to Europe and Italy then lay in the opposite direction: toward a kind of escape beyond those European realities that now seemed to resemble too closely the harsher features of the "age of cynicism" in America itself.[78] For some of the most representative old and new pilgrims, among them Norton, Adams, and James, a cathartic projection of self occurred, which, in their case, redeemed cultural despondency into fruitful intellectual activity and artistic creativity. And yet even in their sustained reactions, however different they actually were, there was inescapable evidence that a radical transformation had changed the pristine American ahistorical response to Italy into an essentially negative, almost antihistorical, attitude toward modern Europe and, therefore, toward contemporary Italy and its epochal moment, the *Risorgimento*.

During the last decades of the nineteenth century and beyond, the American consciousness of modern Italy appears as an emblematic function of new inner conflict, of the crisis of the American conscience which, whatever practical optimism it may have engendered for the future, immediately resulted, for sensitive sectors of the American intelligentsia, in a pessimistic vision of the past as unrecoverable even as an ideal, and of the present as unacceptable as "ultimate" reality. At the dawn of the twentieth century neither the apotheosis of "history-as-science" nor the hegemony of "history-as-progress" succeeded in transforming cultural disenchantment into spiritual expectation. During the "age of cynicism" in America, Italy was metamorphosed into mythos—an "island" of resistance to hold and to pit against the dark vortex of historic forces that had shaken and continued to change the foundations of both old Europe and new America. Thus the idea of Italy had come full circle between flight and escape, between idyll and mythos. With all its contradictions and tensions, that circle of consciousness became a persistent cultural premise, a psychological prehistory and spiritual prelude at the same time, of a distinct and yet recurring historic experience—the postrevolutionary encounter between Europe and America of which the nineteenth-century

[78] From a vast historical literature on the "age of cynicism," see Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (New York, 1954), 164–85; Charles and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (new ed., 2 vols. in 1, New York, 1942), II, 166–210. For a new kind of philosophical probing into the ideological and social "premises" of the post-Civil War period, see Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought since the Revolution* (New York, 1955), 145–200.

discovery of Italy had constituted a central motive. In the course of the twentieth century practically all varieties of American historical thought and writing on modern Italy and its uniquely decisive moment—the *Risorgimento*—found themselves somehow, directly or indirectly, grappling with the burden of antinomies inherited from that eventful encounter and strange discovery.

Isaac Backus and the Separation of Church and State in America

William G. McLoughlin*

THE role of Isaac Backus (1724–1806) and the Separate Baptists in the development of the American tradition of separation of church and state has not yet been given its due. Yet any careful evaluation of this tradition must acknowledge that neither the position of Roger Williams nor that of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison adequately defines it. The basic premises of Williams' position were far too Puritan in theology and too anti-institutional in polity to be typical, while the basic premises of Jefferson's and Madison's position were far too rationalistic and anticlerical. Or, to put it another way, Williams was too great a perfectionist about religious purity while Jefferson and Madison were too indifferent, if not hostile, toward revealed religion to be entirely representative of the American approach to church-state relationships.[1]

In the secular mood of the twentieth century the United States Supreme Court has drawn heavily upon Jefferson and Madison in its increasingly rigid interpretation of the "no establishment" clause of the First Amendment, but throughout the nineteenth century most Americans firmly believed that the United States was a Protestant nation and that as such its laws and customs should conform to the will of the evangelical majority.[2]

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[1] Perry Miller seems to me quite right in arguing that Williams came to his final position "because he was driven by religious passion and not because he was mollified by the religious indifferentism of a Jefferson. He preached liberty of conscience not because he thought it the least destructive or most economical way for men to live together, but because of a vision which for him was a never-ending ecstasy. He did not look forward to a free society as the goal of human endeavor; instead he looked down on it, in pity and sorrow, seeing in freedom only a preliminary requirement for the Christian pilgrimage." (*Roger Williams: His Contribution to the American Tradition* [Indianapolis, 1953], 27–28; see also Edmund S. Morgan's excellent new study *Roger Williams: The Church and the State* [New York, 1967] which amplifies and in places corrects Miller's view.)

[2] James Bryce captured the prevailing view of Americans on this question in the nineteenth century when he said, "The matter may be summed up by saying that Christianity is in fact understood to be, though not the legally established religion, yet the national religion." (Quoted in *Church and State in American History,* ed. John F. Wilson [Boston, 1965], 154.) By the increasing rigidity of the Court's interpretation, I mean in contrast to the nineteenth-century American attitude described by Lord Bryce. Since 1948, I recognize, many strict Separationists feel that the Court has permitted considerable breaching of the wall of separation.

Since the Baptists and the Methodists were the most widespread and numerous denominations in that century, it seems essential to include their evangelical theory of Separationism in any attempt to define that tradition. It is hardly logical to expect that the views of a seventeenth-century Calvinistic Seeker like Williams or an eighteenth-century deistic Episcopalian like Jefferson or Madison would accurately represent the views of these evangelical pietists. The Methodists, who were still part of the Anglican Church during the Revolution, produced no spokesman for their views on this tradition during its formative period. But the Baptists found in Backus a most energetic and eloquent one. In his long, active career and his trenchant tracts he provided a dedicated, effective leadership for eighteenth-century sectarian pietism that entitles him to rank with Williams, Jefferson, and Madison as a key proponent of this fundamental tenet of the American democratic faith.

Backus was born in 1724, the son of a well-to-do farmer and a member of one of the most distinguished Congregationalist families of Norwich, Connecticut. Baptized as a child into the parish church of his parents, he grew up without ever questioning its orthodoxy or its practice of the halfway covenant. But after his conversion, under the New Light preaching of James Davenport and Eleazar Wheelock in 1741, he began to notice how many of the church's members were not really visible saints. And when the parish minister would not agree to exclude such reprobates from communion, Backus and several of his relatives, together with a large number of the most respectable people in his congregation, left the parish church and formed a Separate church in Norwich in 1745.[3] A year later Backus felt called to become an itinerant New Light preacher, and in 1748 he was ordained pastor of a Separate church in Middleborough, Massachusetts. In 1751, after two years of spiritual doubt, he adopted antipedobaptist views and was rebaptized by immersion. He then tried to conduct his Separate church on open communion lines for five years. Finding this impossible, he dissolved the Separate church in 1756 and organized the First Baptist Church of Middleborough on closed communion and evangelical Calvinist principles. He remained pastor there until his death in 1806, devoting himself tirelessly to itinerant evangelism, denominational consolidation, and the fight to overthrow the established system of the Congregational churches in New England.

[3] For a discussion of the Separate or Strict Congregational movement in New England, see C. C. Goen, *Revivalism and Separatism in New England, 1740–1800* (New Haven, Conn., 1962). It should be noted that on the whole most of these Separates favored Separationism; the latter is a modern shorthand term for the principle of separation of church and state (or voluntarism), which has no specific relationship to the Separate movement.

The history of separation of church and state in Massachusetts from 1692 to the Great Awakening, so ably told by Susan Reed in her neglected monograph on this subject,[4] is a story of how the Quakers, Baptists, and Anglicans fought, each in their own way, to establish their right to exemption from paying compulsory religious taxes for the support of the Standing or Congregational churches. But in this early period it was the Quakers and Anglicans who carried the main thrust of the movement. The Baptists played a secondary role, fighting mainly for the preservation of their privileged position in the town of Swansea. The Anglicans, of course, did not oppose religious taxation out of any commitment to the principle of voluntarism. They frankly coveted the privileged position of the Congregationalists. The Quakers, while committed to voluntarism, rested content after 1729 when the Massachusetts General Assembly granted exemption from paying religious taxes to all members of their persuasion who could prove that they were bona fide Quakers.

The Baptists did not come forward to lead the fight for voluntarism until after the Great Awakening. Their theory of Separationism evolved slowly and painfully during the years 1748–1773. But the place to begin a discussion of their views is in the year 1739, just before the Great Awakening began. At that time the Massachusetts ecclesiastical laws stated that three kinds of dissenters were to be tolerated as persons exempted from supporting the establishment: "Anabaptists," "Quakers," and "Churchmen." All three terms had pejorative overtones indicating that the weight of public opprobrium was cast so heavily against joining one of these "dissenting sects" that even the opportunity to evade the high costs of religious taxation seldom persuaded a man to do so except out of the strongest conscientious scruples.

The law required anyone who claimed to be a member of the Anabaptist or Quaker "persuasion" to provide a "certificate" signed by his minister stating that he did regularly attend and contribute money to that church; the minister and two leading members of that church or congregation had to swear that such persons were "conscientiously of their persuasion," not simply tax dodgers.[5] The Standing Order considered this, and rightly so, a most generous arrangement. Compared to the status of dissenters in those colonies where the Anglican Church was established or

[4] Susan M. Reed, *Church and State in Massachusetts, 1691–1740* (Urbana, Ill., 1914).

[5] The requirements for signatures on the certificates varied from time to time, but throughout most of the century three signatures were required. (See *The Acts and Resolves, Public and Private, of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay* [21 vols., Boston, 1869–1922], II, 714.) Anglicans were also required to obtain similar certificates, but this did not entitle them to tax exemption; it merely gave their minister claim to their religious taxes for his support.

to those in England, the dissenters of Massachusetts were indeed far better off. Due credit has not been given to the Congregationalists of "the Glacial Age" for the advance they made toward toleration by these laws—albeit the advance was made grudgingly and under strong pressure from England.[6] Many Congregationalists, however, resented the fact that dissenters received this special tax exemption, especially since every exemption to a dissenter raised the tax burden for the rest of the community. Hence local authorities often made it extremely difficult for dissenters to obtain certificates, and the term "certificate man" was one of scorn and resentment throughout the eighteenth century.

Because the tax exemption laws in Massachusetts were temporary and had to be renewed approximately every five years, and because some Baptists complained that they were not fairly administered, a committee of the leading Baptists in the vicinity of Boston, under the leadership of James Bound and Joseph Callendar, was organized in the 1730's to negotiate with the General Court over revision and improvement of the laws. In 1739, when the exemption law of 1734 was about to expire, the legislature consulted with this group and permitted it to submit a bill on the subject. It is significant that this group, describing itself as "Agents for the people called Baptists," told the General Court that they found the tax exemption system satisfactory in principle, but wished that it could be a permanent rather than a temporary law. They said, however, that they would be satisfied if the current law were extended for ten years. Their petition humbly thanked the court for the exemption system which "hath been much to the relief and comfort of the said people called Baptists, as well as an honourable Characteristick of the mildness, moderation and Christian Spirit of the Legislators."[7]

The Great Awakening, however, produced a wholly new kind of Baptist in Massachusetts (and throughout the country) who was not so humble or acquiescent. These Baptists were known colloquially as the "new Baptists" or the "Separate Baptists." They began as radical New Lights converted during the Great Awakening; finding that the Old Lights were successfully thwarting their reforms, they separated from the Standing

[6] See Reed, *Church and State in Massachusetts,* for the pressure Anglicans and Quakers were able to bring upon Massachusetts from England. In 1739 there were only nine Baptist churches in Massachusetts with perhaps three hundred members, most of them in the area of the old Plymouth Colony around Swansea and Rehoboth.

[7] Massachusetts Archives, Ecclesiastical, XII, 96, 127, Massachusetts Archives, Secretary of State's Office, Massachusetts State House, Archives Office, Boston. It appears that the legislature, fearing tax dodging, was preparing to revise the tax exemption law so that Baptists and Quakers would have to pay religious taxes like the Anglicans and then have these taxes turned over to their own ministers. Hence the Baptist agents may simply have been settling for the lesser of two evils.

Order and eventually adopted antipedobaptist views. Over 125 such separations occurred in New England, but to their dismay the Separates discovered that the General Assembly declined to recognize them as bona fide dissenters. The legislators argued that the Separates had no distinctive marks as a persuasion or denomination to differentiate them from the Congregational churches of the establishment; to grant them the same tax exemption privileges as had been granted to Anabaptists, Quakers, and Churchmen would, therefore, lead to utter confusion and the total breakdown of the prevailing system.[8] Consequently the Separates found themselves saddled with double taxation: they had to support their own churches and those of the Standing Order as well. And if they were so adamant as to refuse to pay taxes to support the Standing Order, they were imprisoned or had their goods distrained and sold at public auction.[9] Under this pressure the Separate movement gradually disintegrated, and, of the 125 Separate churches existing in 1754, only about a dozen remained by 1776.

Meanwhile many of the Separates moved from their original position of "Strict Congregationalism" into the position of antipedobaptism. The theological reasons for this shift are complex, but suffice it to say that the question of infant baptism had always been one of the most awkward and inconsistent aspects of New England Congregationalism; the Puritans professed to believe that a church should be made up only of visible saints admitted to communion upon profession of their faith after conversion. But this left undefined the role that those baptized in infancy were to play in the church when they came of age if they had not yet become visible saints. The Separate movement began in large part out of a reaction against the halfway covenant and Stoddardeanism which were efforts to solve this problem but which, in the eyes of the new pietism of the Great Awakening, had only made it worse.

There was a certain logical consistency therefore in moving from the Separate position to the antipedobaptist position and arguing that a voluntaristic church of visible saints could only mean a church in which adult, professed believers should be granted the seal of baptism and the privileges

[8] The Standing Order was of course correct in its view that to grant tax exemption to Separates whose doctrines and practices differed from that of the established churches only in the intensity of their pietistic fervor would have destroyed the ecclesiastical system. Baptists, Quakers, and Anglicans could be tolerated and given tax exemption only because they were so few. But if 125 towns and parishes were divided into competing Congregational factions of almost equal size, most would not have been able to provide adequate support for both. The Separate movement had to be crushed.

[9] Backus himself was threatened with jail for this reason in 1748, and four years later his mother and brother were imprisoned in Norwich, Connecticut, for refusing as Separates to pay religious taxes. (See W. G. McLoughlin, *Isaac Backus* [Boston, 1967], 22, 49.)

of church membership. As the Separate movement began to crumble from outside pressure by the civil authorities, it simultaneously disintegrated internally from the dissensions arising among those moving into the antipedobaptist camp. Naturally there were many in the Standing Order who looked upon this movement as an effort by the Separates to claim the right of tax exemption granted to Anabaptists. But few pietists were so hypocritical as this, and fewer would have been willing to bear the double onus of being schismatics and Anabaptist "certificate men" just to "wash away their taxes" by immersion.

Anyone reading the diaries and letters of men like Backus who made this painful transition from Separate to Baptist between 1749 and 1756 will soon be convinced of the tortuous trial of conscience involved. Backus in fact said that he at first opposed the idea of antipedobaptism because he thought the devil was tempting him and his Separate brethren by offering them an easy way out of persecution. Like most Separates, Backus was ready to go to jail rather than pay religious taxes to support the Standing Order, but he was not ready to let his fear of jail lead him into religious error.[10]

The evolution of Backus' First Baptist Church of Middleborough from strict Separate to open communion Separate to closed communion Baptist principles in the years 1748–1756 was typical of many such transitions throughout the province. And it was from the new evangelistic drive of these Separate Baptist churches that the Baptist denomination in New England derived its vigor and growth in the late eighteenth century. Backus, who quickly became a leading spokesman for these Separate Baptists, was aware of the evolutionary development of his own views. Writing in 1781 he said, "I was such a dull scholar in Christ's school that I was thirty-two years in learning a lesson of only six words, namely, 'One Lord, one faith, one baptism.' "[11] By this he meant that having started his spiritual life as a pedobaptist New Light in 1741, he then took ten years to evolve to the position of antipedobaptism, five more years to acknowledge the truth of closed communion, and then seventeen more years to decide that he could no longer acquiesce in the New England system of tolerated tax exemption for dissenters. It is important to keep in

[10] The diary, letters, and other papers of Backus, which are now being edited for a letterpress edition under a grant from the National Historical Publications Commission, are owned principally by Andover Newton Theological School, Newton Center, Massachusetts. The best proof that the Standing Order feared tax dodging among the Separates was the new tax exemption law of 1754 that was designed specifically to exclude the "new Baptists" from the tax exemption privileges of the old Baptists. It proved impossible, however, to maintain the distinction, and the law did not function as expected.

[11] Isaac Backus, *Truth Is Great and Will Prevail* (Boston, 1781), Appendix, 7.

mind the evolutionary and often pragmatic development of the Baptist position on church and state if we are to distinguish it from the more ideological and consistent positions of Williams, Jefferson, and Madison.

While Backus fought vigorously for the right of Separates and then of Separate Baptists to be exempt from compulsory support of the Standing Church and ministry, his early efforts were limited to broadening the definition of a bona fide dissenter to include the new Baptists, whom the legislature tried to classify as Separates, and to increasing the effective and honest administration of the tax exemption laws for Baptists. Liberty of conscience and freedom of religion represented for him, and for most Baptists prior to 1773, essentially a self-centered and denominationally oriented goal rather than an absolute or clearly enunciated principle. Nowhere did Backus argue on behalf of dissenters in general, as Williams and Jefferson so often did; nor did he join forces with other dissenting groups to work for separation on an interdenominational basis.[12] Always the Baptists worked with and for the Baptists. If their principles had a broader application, that was secondary to them, and it is as misleading to read our current theory into them as into the principles of Williams or Jefferson. Like all radical reformers, the Separate Baptists occasionally exalted their immediate personal claims into broad abstract principles. But in practice their goals were limited, their practices expedient. For example, they showed little concern for other new dissenting groups that arose in New England after the Great Awakening; in the opinion of the Separate Baptists, the Universalists, Shakers, Sandemanians, and Methodists were merely corrupt and dangerous heretics, not allies against the establishment. One of the most noted Separate Baptists, a minister who worked closely with Backus for the abolition of compulsory religious taxes, Valentine Rathbun, actually tried to persuade the people of Pittsfield in 1781 to banish all Shakers from that town.[13] Nor is there a word in all of Backus' published or unpublished writings concerning the famous lawsuit of 1783–1786 by which John Murray, the founder of the Universalists in America, won toleration and tax exemption for his sect in Massachusetts. Backus was positively vitriolic in his tracts attacking Universalists, Shakers, and Methodists, all of whom he considered as dangerous heretics to a Christian commonwealth as the Puritans had considered the Munsterite Anabaptists

[12] The one exception to this occurred in 1774 when the Baptists accepted an invitation by some leading Quakers in Philadelphia to join them in a protest to the Continental Congress. But this joint endeavor was limited to the one specific occasion, and it was prompted by the ulterior motives of the Quakers who hoped to thwart the radical efforts of the Congress by injecting this divisive note. (See McLoughlin, *Isaac Backus,* 128–32.)

[13] The motion supported by Rathbun in the town meeting at Pittsfield in 1781 is quoted in J.E.A. Smith, *History of Pittsfield* (2 vols., Boston, 1869), I, 454.

to be. He did not specifically urge their persecution, but neither did he urge their toleration. The same implacable hostility was displayed by nineteenth-century Baptists and Methodists against Mormons, Catholics, and Christian Scientists.[14]

Nor did Backus argue at first for complete disestablishment of church and state, for that would have committed the Baptists to opposing the established status of the Church of England at home. But the Baptists often found the king to be their strongest bulwark against Massachusetts' persecution, and they did not want to alienate him by attacking the church of which he was the head. It was only under the stimulus of the incipient revolt against England, and after the examples of civil disobedience provided by the Sons of Liberty against the Stamp Act, that Backus finally led the Baptists to adopt an uncompromising attitude against mere religious toleration.[15] It was not until September 1773 that the Baptists of New England finally took a stand for freedom of conscience as a natural or supernatural right and began a campaign of massive civil disobedience by refusing any longer to submit annual certificates of their dissenting persuasion in order to obtain exemption from religious taxes. And even then the line between church and state was drawn specifically in terms of compulsory religious taxation.

Many aspects of Separationism that we now associate with the tradition were still unresolved among the Baptists even at the time of Backus' death. Throughout the nineteenth century, in fact, the Baptists, like other evangelicals and the public at large, were quite ready to use the state to enforce their superior claims against Freemasons or the heathen Indians and Orientals. Francis Wayland, the Baptist president of Brown University, virtually preached a doctrine of religious survival of the fittest in the 1840's, and other evangelicals were still preaching Christian imperialism at the end of the century.[16] Few nineteenth-century evangelicals saw any inconsistency in supporting laws to enforce the Protestant Sabbath or prohibition, laws against blasphemy and profanity, laws against lotteries, gambling, theatergoing, dancing, and, ultimately, against the teaching of evolution. In recent years staunch neoevangelical supporters of Separation-

[14] Backus referred to Mother Ann Lee of the Shakers as "a common prostitute" and called John Wesley a Tory and a liar. Of course Williams bitterly attacked the Quakers, and Jefferson was equally hostile toward Calvinists and Catholics, but what Backus lacks is any clear-cut statement that, despite their theological errors, these new dissenters equally deserve religious liberty. Somehow he could not bring himself to include them as true religious believers.

[15] Even as late as the spring of 1775 Backus was urged by many Baptists to be cautious in taking the patriot side lest it lose them the good will of the King. (McLoughlin, *Isaac Backus*, 134.)

[16] See Francis Wayland, *The Elements of Political Economy* (Boston, 1852), 131–32, and Josiah Strong, *Our Country* (New York, 1886), Chap. XIV.

ism have cried out against the decisions of the Supreme Court preventing Bible reading and prayer in the public schools. Certainly Jefferson would have approved of these Court decisions, and so would Williams. But it seems certain that Backus would not. And it is the pragmatic middle ground of Backus on church and state, not the more consistent positions of Jefferson and of Williams, that prevailed in practice throughout most of American history.

As a Baptist Backus might be expected to have drawn upon the work of his illustrious predecessor, Williams, in evolving his pietistic theory of Separationism. Being a contemporary and later a political supporter of Jefferson, he might also have been expected to share some of his views about this matter. But in fact he drew little from either of them and developed his Separationist views on very different grounds. While he shared Williams' Calvinistic theology, he had no use for his Seekerism. While he shared Jefferson's Lockean defense of voluntarism, he deplored his deistic theology. Sidney Mead has rightly pointed out that the positive ideological thrust of Baptist Separationism from Reformation principles was less important in achieving Separationism in America than the practical necessities of the New World situation. But his claim for a "rationalist-pietist alliance" is subject to serious qualifications, especially in New England.[17] The rationalists in New England were Unitarians, and the Unitarians, as Backus knew, were stout defenders of the establishment. Backus evolved his principles and wrote his tracts against the New England establishment before he had even heard of Jefferson or Madison. As for Williams, he had held Baptist views for only about four months in 1639, and his repudiation of their views for the more radical stance of the Seekers made him no authority for the Baptists of New England.[18] His books were a rarity in America, and Backus did not read them until 1773.[19] It is ironic that Backus agreed with most Congregationalists that

[17] See Sidney E. Mead, *The Lively Experiment* (New York, 1963), 19, 40–44.

[18] Morgan argues that Williams was not, properly speaking, a Seeker (*Roger Williams*, 152). But whether he shared all of the official tenets of this group there still seems no other adequate term for his position after 1639. Williams' famous statement to John Winthrop after having left the Baptist denomination is also worth quoting here: "I believe their practice comes nearer the first practice of our great Founder Christ than other practices of religion doe, & yet I have no satisfaction neither in the authorities by which it [baptism] is done nor in the manner [immersion]; nor in the prophecies concerning the rise of Christ's Kingdome after the desolation of Rome &c." (Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 4th Ser., VI [1863], 274.)

[19] Backus first mentions reading Williams in his diary, Feb. 2, 1773, Backus Papers: "Met now with some writings of old Mr. Roger Williams which I was very glad of." The first publication in which Backus quoted Williams was his *Appeal to the Public for Religious Liberty* (Boston, 1773), 25–26. For some of the reasons why Backus did not often quote Williams, see Thomas B. Maston, *Isaac Backus: Pioneer of Religious Liberty* (Rochester, N. Y., 1962), 76.

Rhode Island was a poor example of the results of separation of church and state because its religious institutions were so poorly supported; he frankly called that colony "irreligious" and preferred to cite Pennsylvania as a more prosperous and respectable example of the blessings of voluntarism.[20]

But even setting aside the question of direct influence upon Backus of Williams or Jefferson, it is plain that there are striking differences in their respective approaches to the proper relationship of church and state.[21] Granted that all three opposed an establishment of religion that required conformity of conscience and uniformity of worship and that laid taxes upon all citizens for the support of one state church. But this kind of establishment existed nowhere in the American colonies in the eighteenth century. Williams had to fight against total conformity and uniformity in seventeenth-century New England, but neither Jefferson nor Backus faced this situation.[22] What was in existence in most of the colonies by 1750 was a preferred or privileged church that received official aid from the state but that granted broad toleration to dissenters. These dissenters were totally exempt from supporting the privileged Congregational churches in New England after 1730, and the collection of religious tithes was notably lax in the Anglican colonies. The problem of religious liberty consequently was more practical than ideological, especially after 1776. As Mead points out, the pietists and rationalists agreed that social morality and order, not conformity of belief and worship, was the only real church-state issue to be settled.[23] On this point the Unitarians of New England agreed with those latitudinarians in Virginia like George Washington, John Marshall, Richard Henry Lee, and Patrick Henry who believed that a general assessment tax upon all citizens to provide support for the church of the individual's own choice was the only feasible system in a poor

[20] Isaac Backus, *Policy as Well as Honesty* (Boston, 1779), 10.

[21] I agree with Miller's statement that "although Williams is celebrated as the prophet of religious freedom, he actually exerted little or no influence on institutional developments in America: only after the conception of liberty for all denominations had triumphed on wholly other grounds did Americans look back on Williams and invest him with his ill-fitting halo." (*Roger Williams*, 29.)

[22] It should be noted here that the Congregationalists of eighteenth-century Massachusetts always denied that their system was in fact an establishment of religion. They defined an establishment in terms of a confessional state in which conformity to a specific creed and ritual was required of all churches supported by law. Congregational churches were autonomous in creed and ritual.

[23] Mead, *Lively Experiment*, 59–70. Mead claims that under voluntarism the churches proved inadequate "to define, articulate, disseminate the basic religious beliefs essential for the existence and well-being of the society"; thus they had to turn the task over to the state via the public schools. I would argue that most nineteenth-century evangelicals saw the schools as merely an adjunct to the churches and placed their faith in revivalism in order to convert the nation to Christian morality and order. They relied, meanwhile, upon the power of moral suasion from the pulpits and the passage of wholesome laws to maintain the well-being of society.

country. Voluntarism was simply inadequate to build sufficient meeting-houses and support sufficient ministers to inculcate the principles of morality and obedience essential to a stable, honest, orderly social system. Williams had faced virtually the same situation in England in 1652 when the tolerant Protectorate also sought to lay religious taxes for the support of a variety of sects.[24]

In opposing the concept of a general assessment tax (Jefferson and Madison successfully, Backus and Williams unsuccessfully) the advocates of voluntarism may seem to have had much in common. Yet a closer examination of their statements on an ideal church and an ideal state indicates marked variations in their fundamental outlooks. Williams, for example, denied that there was any ideal church ordained by God, though he was convinced that the word of God had revealed Calvinism as the true form of orthodox belief.[25] Backus clearly believed that closed communion Calvinistic Baptists organized in a congregational polity but united in associations were the ideal "gospel church."[26] Jefferson passionately hated Calvinism and the priestcraft and believed that voluntarism would undermine the power of churches, priests, and superstitious creeds and free American minds for a natural theology without ministers or churches;[27] he denied flatly that America was or should be a Christian nation. Backus and the Baptists, like most nineteenth-century evangelicals, were convinced that America was not only a Christian nation but a Protestant one. Backus looked forward to the day when Baptist ministers and evangelists would convert all Americans to antipedobaptism. Williams denied that short of a new revelation or the millennium any form of

[24] For Williams' opposition to this system, see his *Fourth Paper Presented to Maior Butler* (London, 1652).

[25] For Williams' stalwart Calvinism, see Miller, *Roger Williams,* 28. Again I would agree with Miller that Williams never speaks "in the tones of modern liberalism. For him the ideological issue [of Separationism] is not central: the question is the meaning of Scripture. Were Cotton correct in saying that such-and-such is clearly demonstrable, Williams would have to agree that a good conscience ought to submit and allow the magistrate to help, just as we today believe that a judge can sentence unrepentant thieves." (*Ibid.,* 104.) In *The Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody* (London, 1644) Williams makes this concession to the Puritans: "Let Master Cotton now produce any such nation in the whole world whom God in the New Testament hath literally and miraculously brought forth of Egypt, or from one land into another, to the truth and purity of his worship—then far be it but I should acknowledge that the seducer is fit to be put to death." (Quoted *ibid.,* 183.)

[26] Backus devoted many of his energies to overthrowing the Arminian, Six-Principle Baptist position that grew up in and around Rhode Island after Williams' death, and he was a strong advocate of associationism for maintaining the good order and orthodoxy of his denomination of closed communion, Five-Principle Calvinist Baptists.

[27] It is hardly necessary to reiterate Jefferson's disdain of "the mountebanks calling themselves the priests of Jesus" and his fear of "the power and the profit of the priests. Sweep away their gossamer fabrics of factitious religion, and they would catch no more flies. We should all then, like the Quakers, live without an order of priests, moralize for ourselves, follow the oracle of conscience, and say nothing about what no man can understand, nor therefore believe." (Quoted in *Thomas Jefferson on Democracy,* ed. Saul K. Padover [Mentor ed., New York, 1954], 117–18.)

church or denomination should be formed; he even denied that God called any men to be ministers, pastors, or evangelists since the days of the Apostles, and hence no man should make his living by preaching the word of God.[28]

Unlike Backus and Jefferson, Williams had an essentially pessimistic and premillennial view of history: the world was in the hands of antichrist and would shortly come to a disastrous Day of Judgment.[29] This was far from the optimistic mood of the rationalist Jefferson or the pietistic Backus, each of whom foresaw the rising glory of America in his own terms. Nineteenth-century Americans preferred the pietistic vision of Backus to the secularistic one of Jefferson. And despite Jefferson's hope that Americans would all be deists by 1830, the fact that Congress in the 1790's supported chaplains in the army, navy, and Congress, that it placed "In God We Trust" on the coins, and happily supported the national days of fasting, prayer, and thanksgiving proclaimed by Presidents Washington and Adams indicates that Backus' vision was the more typical.

If Backus' difference with Jefferson is not obvious enough in these respects, one has only to contrast the bill he proposed for the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 regarding religious freedom with the statements of Jefferson and Madison on this principle:

> As God is the only worthy object of all religious worship, and nothing can be true religion but a voluntary obedience unto his revealed will, of which each rational soul has an equal right to judge for itself; every person has an inalienable right to act in all religious affairs according to the full persuasion of his own mind, where others are not injured thereby. And Civil rulers are so far from having any right to empower any person or persons to judge for others in such affairs, and to enforce their judgments with the sword, that their power ought to be exerted to protect all persons and societies within their jurisdiction from being injured or interrupted in the free enjoyment of this right under any presumption whatsoever.[30]

Jefferson and Madison never defined "true religion" as "a voluntary obedience" to God's "revealed will" in Scripture. They wished to free men's minds

[28] As Williams put it in his *Hireling Ministry None of Christ's* (London, 1652), 4, neither "the Begetting Ministry of the Apostles . . . or the Feeding and Nourishing Ministry of Pastors and Teachers . . . are yet restored and extant." He also denounced here the man who "makes a Trade of Preaching" and who demands "a maintenance" or "explicitly makes a covenant or bargaine" for his salary as a preacher. (*Ibid.*, 8.) Yet Backus, in his *The Liberal Support of Gospel Ministers, Opened and Inculcated* (Boston, 1790), explicitly defended the right of the minister to demand a fair salary from his congregation and even to excommunicate for covetousness any who failed to provide their proportionate share.

[29] For Williams' prediction that the true testimony of God's prophets and witnesses "is probably neer finished" and "the slaughter of the Witnesses, Revel. 11" is about to begin, "After which and their shame three years and a halfe, followeth their most glorious and joyfull Rising," see his *Hireling Ministry*, 2.

[30] The manuscript of Backus' proposed "Bill of Rights" for the Massachusetts Constitution is in Backus Papers; it is printed in Maston, *Isaac Backus*, Appendix C, 121–23.

from superstition and to measure true religion in terms of the universal laws of nature. As Mead points out, "Religion was defined as one's 'opinion'" in Jefferson's bill for religious freedom.[31] For him the Bible was neither more nor less God's revealed will than the books of Euclid and Isaac Newton. But disestablishment for Backus meant leaving Christ's kingdom free to propagate itself through the evangelistic ministry of the Word and the supernatural grace of the Holy Spirit. Both Jefferson and Backus wanted separation of church and state so that the truth would prevail, but for Backus truth came through the heart by grace while for Jefferson it came through the head by reason.

The views of Williams and Jefferson on Separationism have often been expounded, but the manner in which Backus evolved his position and the various inconsistencies in the Baptists' pragmatic approach to this problem in New England need more careful elaboration. Backus first became engaged in the movement for separation of church and state in 1748 when the parish in which his Separate church was located laid a tax to build a meetinghouse. Backus and all of his congregation were assessed for this tax to support the established Congregational church, and when the parish refused to heed their request for exemption, Backus called a conference in Attleborough in the spring of 1749 to which he invited the members of four Separate churches in the vicinity. At this meeting a petition to the General Court was drawn up asking that the Separates be granted the same privileges of tax exemption as the Baptists and Quakers. The petitioners pointed out that under the charter of 1691 "liberty of conscience is granted to all Christians except Papists," yet "if we pass not under the denomination of Churchmen . . . or Anabaptists or Quakers or do not worship on the Sabbath with the major part of the town or precinct where we live" then they "imprison some and put some in the stock[s] and also take away some of our goods and chattles."[32]

It is significant that neither in this petition nor in any subsequent petition did Backus and the Separates or Baptists ever state that they wished to have full religious liberty granted to "Papists." Williams in 1655 had specifically stated that "Papists, Protestants, Jews or Turks" should have the same freedom of religion, and the charter of Rhode Island made no ex-

[31] See Mead, *Lively Experiment,* 57. It must be admitted that in the years 1775–1785 Jefferson and Madison tried not to exaggerate but to play down their differences with the pietistic dissenters who supported disestablishment. It was in the years after 1800 that their deism became most pronounced in its hostility toward revealed religion and the priestcraft.

[32] Massachusetts Archives, Ecclesiastical, XII, 626.

ceptions in this regard nor denied any civil privileges to Roman Catholics. But Backus and the Separate Baptists, being children of Puritan heritage, looked upon Catholics the same way the Puritans had looked upon Anabaptists: as dangerous heretics and subverters of civil order. At most Backus held that their peaceable presence might be tolerated, but he saw no need at this time to grant them religious liberty in the form of exemption from religious taxes.

Backus' petition of 1749, limited though it was in its quest for toleration, was not granted by the General Court. Five years later this same petition was again presented by Backus and his brethren, and again it was turned down. So far as I can discover, Backus made no further pronouncements in public on church and state until he published *A Fish Caught in His Own Net* (Boston, 1768). This tract was a polemic in answer to the charges of the Reverend Joseph Fish, the Standing minister of Stonington, Connecticut, that the Separates and Separate Baptists were ignorant fanatics who deserved no countenance by the state. Here Backus first spelled out his theological position against compulsory religious taxation, quoting Biblical texts that he construed to ordain voluntarism and insisting that since Christ's kingdom was not of this world all man-made laws governing ecclesiastical affairs were contrary to divine laws: "For no man can serve two masters." He devoted less than 15 out of 129 pages in this tract, however, to the question of Separationism; most of the work sought to deny Fish's charges that the Separates were heretical in faith and disorderly in practice.

Two years later Backus published *A Seasonable Plea for Liberty of Conscience against Some Late Oppressive Proceedings Particularly in the Town of Berwick* (Boston, 1770). Of the 48 pages in this tract, 3 are devoted to some general statements on liberty of conscience and the remainder to protesting against the censure of some antipedobaptists in the Standing Church of Berwick. Since antipedobaptism was in his eyes commanded by God, it astounded him that a minister should censure a Christian who followed his conscience in adopting this principle. The thought uppermost in his mind here and throughout his writing was that the state, by forcing men to pay to support the false doctrine of pedobaptism, was thwarting or hindering the spread of Gospel truth and aiding in the spread of error.

Finally Backus issued his first and major treatise devoted wholly to the subject of religious liberty: *An Appeal to the Public for Religious Liberty against the Oppressions of the Present Day* (Boston, 1773). It is a strong and forthright statement of the Baptist or pietistic position on Separationism and deserves to rank with Williams' *Bloody Tenent* and Madison's *Remonstrance* as one of the great American expositions of this principle. It owes

something to John Locke,[33] a little to Williams,[34] much to Backus' reading of the Bible, but most of all to the historical experience of the Separate Baptists since 1748. This tract may be described as the Declaration of Independence of the Separate Baptists against the ecclesiastical tyranny of the Standing Order, for it was written in order to justify the policy of civil disobedience adopted by the Baptist churches at their annual association meeting that September. At this meeting the delegates from most of the Baptist churches in Massachusetts voted overwhelmingly to refuse any further compliance with the system of certificates and to suffer mass imprisonment if necessary in order to affirm their conscientious objections to compulsory religious taxes.

The gist of Backus' argument can be discerned in the five reasons he gave at the conclusion of this tract for the Baptists' decision to oppose the certificate laws:

1. Because the very nature of such a practice [giving in certificates] implies an acknowledgment that the civil power has a right to set up one religious sect above another.
2. Our legislature . . . claims the right to tax us from *civil obligation* as being the representative of the people. But how came a civil community by any ecclesiastical power?
3. Their laws require us annually to certify to them what our belief is concerning the conscience of every person that assembles with us as the condition of their being exempted from taxes to other's [*sic*] worship.
4. The scheme we oppose evidently tends to destroy the purity and life of religion. . . . bringing an *earthly power* between Christ and his people.
5. The custom which they want us to countenance is very hurtful to civil society. . . . when temporal advantages are annexed to one persuasion and disadvantages laid upon another. . . . Not only so, but coercive measures about religion tend to provoke emulation, wrath, and contention.

Backus himself never signed another certificate for any of his church members, but this test of massive civil disobedience was thwarted by the events leading to the outbreak of the Revolution. For the sake of unity most towns ceased to prosecute Baptists when the war began, and after 1778 the problem took an entirely new turn with the drafting of a new constitution for the state. Backus was not able during his lifetime, however, to persuade the people of Massachusetts, or of any other Puritan colony, to abandon the system of compulsory religious taxation. Instead Massachusetts adopted a general as-

[33] What it owes to Locke derives from his *Letters concerning Toleration* and not from his *Second Treatise on Government*, for in this tract Backus specifically repudiated the contract theory of government, another fact that highlights his divergence from the thought of Jefferson and Madison.

[34] He quotes two short paragraphs from *The Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*. Backus, who rediscovered Williams' forgotten works, quoted him sparingly, and other writers on Separationism in this period almost never mention him.

sessment system in 1780 very similar to the one Patrick Henry proposed in Virginia several years later.

There is not space here to pursue the historical account of this problem. The point I wish to stress is that Backus and the Baptists of eighteenth-century New England thought primarily of religious liberty in terms of ending compulsory religious taxation and not in terms of a high wall of separation. In order to indicate how fuzzy the line between church and state remained for Backus and the Baptists, a few examples may be cited.

In 1766 in South Brimfield the Separate Baptists came to constitute a majority of the parish, and as such they were able to block the election of any minister of the Standing Order as the settled pastor of the parish. To resolve this problem the Congregationalists joined with some of the leading Baptists and agreed to vote for their pastor, James Mellen, as the Standing or official minister and to pay his salary by taxing all the property owners of the parish. Mellen accepted this proposal and was elected. Religious taxes were assessed for his support; those who refused to pay them, some of whom were Baptists, were arrested and taken to jail. The opponents of this scheme, however, fought back by taking the matter to court where they succeeded in proving that Mellen was not entitled to be a parish minister because he lacked a college degree or approbation by the Standing ministers of the county, which the law required for all parish ministers.[35] In 1770 Mellen's church, which considered itself Baptist, apologized to the other Baptists in the province for having agreed to allow their minister to be elected parish minister.

Backus, it must be said, deplored the whole incident, but obviously even the issue of compulsory religious taxation was not so clear-cut to many Baptists as some of their historians would have us believe. If Mellen had won his case, perhaps Baptists elsewhere would have tried to emulate "the South Brimfield Plan." The truth is that many Separate Baptists agreed with the Congregationalists that voluntarism simply was not an adequate method of providing support for religious worship. Backus himself admitted that the Baptists were frequently unable or unwilling to provide sufficient freewill offerings to build a meetinghouse or to pay a decent salary to their ministers.[36] One of the leading Separate Baptist ministers of Massachusetts, Ebenezer Hinds of Middleborough, a close friend and associate of Backus, went so far as to petition the legislature in 1788 requesting the civil authori-

[35] Isaac Backus, *A History of New England with Particular Reference to the Denomination Called Baptists,* ed. David Weston (2 vols., Newton, Mass., 1871), II, 143–44.

[36] See *ibid., passim,* and Backus, *Liberal Support of Gospel Ministers.*

ties to force his congregation to pay his back salary.[37] Even though most Baptist ministers engaged in farming or some other trade to supplement their incomes, countless Baptist churches broke up and disappeared in these years because they could not provide subsistence for their minister and his family.

Backus might assert that God would "preserve His church even against the gates of Hell," but the fact was that the Baptists were in feeble circumstances in most New England communities. And being good Calvinists they recognized that human nature was too inherently selfish to part voluntarily with much money even for so good a cause as ministerial support. A secularist, like Jefferson, who ultimately placed his hope for democracy in a tax-supported public-school system, could ignore this problem. Seekers, like Williams, who declared (as Jehovah's Witnesses do today) that all denominations were wrong and all ministers lacked valid ordination, could be equally cavalier about the decay of church institutions; Williams said as much in his famous statement that the civil state would not be affected if all the churches broke up and disappeared.[38] But the Baptists, who insisted, as Backus did, that a true government must be a Christian government in which there was "a sweet harmony" between church and state,[39] had difficulty in refuting the hardheaded, practical arguments used against a voluntaristic system.

Another example of the Baptists' willingness to take advantage of state aid for religion in this period can be seen in the history of the town of Ashfield. The Ashfield affair is famous in Baptist history as an example of the worst kind of persecution of the Separate Baptists, and Backus worked hard to persuade the King to invalidate a Massachusetts law of 1768 that made the Baptists in Ashfield responsible for paying support to the parish minister despite the general tax exemption law. Yet part of the resentment against the Baptists in Ashfield stemmed from the fact that in the early years of the settlement of that town, when the Separate Baptists had been a majority of the inhabitants, they had elected one of their brethren, Ebenezer Smith, to be the settled minister of the town and laid claim to the plot of land reserved in all new townships for the first settled minister. They also claimed the right to the income from the plot of land laid aside for the support of the parish church, and they may even have had hopes of raising

[37] A copy of Hinds's petition is among the Backus Papers. Hinds also praised the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 as "the Best Constitution that the Baptist[s] have been under Since the Massachusett[s] Began," although Backus denounced it as making the Baptists' position worse than it had been since 1729. (See Hinds's letter to the Warren Baptist Association, Sept. 3, 1781, *ibid.*)

[38] Quoted in Miller, *Roger Williams,* 117.

[39] See Isaac Backus, *A Fish Caught in His Own Net* (Boston, 1768), 23.

money by taxation for their Baptist meetinghouse. In addition, they claimed that Smith, as the settled minister of the town, was exempt from paying civil taxes just as Congregational parish ministers were. The Congregationalists in Ashfield took the matter to law, however, and the courts ruled that Smith lacked the qualifications to be a parish minister. Thus the plans of the Baptists were thwarted, and the "persecution" began. But the fact remains that these Baptists too were not above attempting to derive such benefits from the state as they could get and from claiming the legal status and privileges of parish ministers.[40]

In the less rigid ecclesiastical systems of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont there are many examples of Baptist ministers who made good their claims to the ministerial plots in new towns because they were the first settled ministers in these towns. Elias Smith relates several instances in the 1790's where Vermont towns offered him their ministerial plots, and Job Seamans was actually installed as the settled minister of New London, New Hampshire, in 1788, and for several years he permitted the town to lay taxes for his support.[41] Backus disapproved of Seamans' being paid by taxation, but there is no record of his opposing the granting of ministerial plots to Baptists who were the first settled ministers in new towns.

After 1790 the Baptists, like other dissenters in New England, began to claim the right to use the parish meetinghouses and to share proportionately the income from the town's ministerial lands. There were numerous lawsuits involving such claims, and in many towns the Baptists were permitted to use the town meetinghouse for a certain number of Sundays each year in proportion to the number of their adherents in the parish. It all seemed perfectly just to the Baptists; since public tax money had built the meetinghouses and since the ministerial plots were a public provision for the support of religion, why should they not receive their fair share?[42]

But of all the issues on which the Baptists found themselves most bitterly divided in the latter part of the century, that of seeking incorporation by the legislature was the most hotly contended. The principal purpose of incorporation was obviously to compel Baptist congregations to provide adequate compensation for their pastors. Baptist leaders like Hezekiah Smith, one of the wealthiest men in Haverhill, flatly disobeyed the resolution

[40] For the Ashfield case, see Frederick G. Howes, *History of the Town of Ashfield* (Ashfield, Mass., 1913), and *Acts and Resolves,* IV, 1036 ff.

[41] For Smith, see *The Life, Conversion, Preaching, Travels and Suffering of Elias Smith* (Portsmouth, N. H., 1816) 205, 206; for Seamans, see Backus, *History of New England,* ed. Weston, II, 537–38.

[42] The result of this was often ludicrous as four or five denominations tried to divide up the fifty-two Sabbaths among themselves. Gradually after 1810 the towns decided that the town hall should be a wholly secular or civil building and that each denomination, including the Congregationalists, should build its own house of worship.

of the Warren Baptist Association in seeking incorporation for the church of which he was pastor in 1793.[43] Many other Baptist ministers did the same during the next forty years. The legislative records reveal that over forty Baptist churches had obtained legislative acts incorporating them by 1810.[44] Some incorporated Baptist churches in the 1790's and early 1800's sued their own members in court and distrained their goods for failing to pay their duly assessed share of the minister's salary.[45] The Congregationalists doubtless enjoyed the spectacle and delighted in seeing the Baptists admit the failings of voluntarism. Backus, let it be said, bitterly opposed incorporation, pointing out that the right of the legislature to incorporate some churches implied its right to deny incorporation to others. But his arguments were not always heeded.

Though Backus was consistent in opposing the actions of Baptist elders like Mellen, Ebenezer Smith, Seamans, and Hezekiah Smith, he was nevertheless far from having a clear-cut position on the precise line to be drawn between church and state. For example, he sided with the majority of the Baptists in the Warren Association in 1791 in voting to petition Congress (along with the Congregational clergy) for the establishment of a federal commission to license the publication of all Bibles in the United States. It never occurred to him that the right to license carried with it the right not to license.

Backus similarly praised the Constitution of Massachusetts because it required a religious oath of all officeholders: "No man can take a seat in our legislature till he solemnly declares, 'I believe the Christian religion and have a firm persuasion of its truth.' "[46] Many Baptists disagreed with Jefferson, Madison, and Williams that religious liberty should include the right to hold office even for Jews, Mohammedans, deists, atheists, and infidels.[47] Backus

[43] For an account of the confrontation between Hezekiah Smith and Backus on this matter, see *Life . . . of Smith,* 233–34. Another reason often given to justify incorporation of a Baptist church was that a series of court decisions after 1780 ruled that unincorporated dissenting churches in Massachusetts could not claim exemption from religious taxes. But most Baptist ministers found other ways around these decisions than by incorporation.

[44] It should also be pointed out that some confusion in the constitutional clauses over tax exemption implied that only an incorporated church or congregation could obtain the religious taxes paid by its members under the new general assessment procedures. The courts were not consistent about this, however.

[45] "The society at Haverhill was incorporated and from this it spread till cattle and horses were taken by force to pay baptist ministers for preaching." (*Ibid.*, 234.)

[46] Isaac Backus, *A Door Opened for Equal Christian Liberty* (Boston, 1783), 12. Backus later applauded the fact, however, that the federal Constitution prohibited any such oath of office for federal officeholders.

[47] The man who succeeded Backus as the leading spokesman for the Massachusetts Baptists, Elder Thomas Baldwin of Boston, stated in the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1820 that "He was willing that parishes should have power to tax all persons within their limites who are not enrolled in any other [religious] society." That is, he was willing that persons who belonged to no church or congregation should be taxed to support the parish church. (*Journal of Debates and Proceedings of the Convention* [Boston, 1853], 422.)

defended test oaths requiring Roman Catholics to forswear their spiritual allegiance to the pope before they could assume public office or, as he put it, to "disclaim the principles which are subversive of a free government."[48]

Similarly it never seems to have occurred to him that the inculcation of the Westminster Confession in the public schools of New England was in any way an infringement upon the rights of parents to bring up their children in their own religious faith. Backus, being a strict Calvinist, firmly believed that the Westminster Confession contained the only true interpretation of Scripture. To him the banning of religious training from the public schools of New England would have been the greatest wickedness—though he did not, of course, care to have infant baptism taught in those schools.[49]

Backus and the Baptists were also strong believers in the necessity of the so-called Puritan blue laws, which punished persons for profanity, blasphemy, or profanation of the Sabbath. In an unpublished sermon written some time after 1784 he praised and quoted a tract by a Baptist minister of London in which it was "deemed a kind of persecution by connivance when, for want of putting the laws into execution against Sabbath breaking, our magistrates permit the profane to disturb them that fear God in their closets and families."[50] He went so far as to condone the actions of his grandfather who, as justice of the peace in Norwich, had condemned two members of the seventh-day sect called Rogerenes to be whipped in 1725 because they were apprehended traveling through his jurisdiction on the Sabbath.[51]

And of course Backus saw nothing wrong with laws requiring public adherence to his own puritanical conceptions of morality: laws against gambling, card playing, dancing, and theatergoing. There is an amusing entry in his diary at the time of the burning of the Grand Theater in Boston in 1798. Backus had noted earlier that this theater had opened in direct violation of the laws against stage plays in Boston, and when it burned to the ground just as the company was preparing a grand spectacle of the de-

[48] Backus, *Truth Is Great,* 33.

[49] See *Life . . . of Smith,* 119–23, for an interesting example of the way in which public-school teachers imposed the Westminster Confession on all children even against the will of parents. Backus has no recorded statement on this issue.

[50] This manuscript sermon, entitled "The Man of Sin Revealed," also quotes a sermon by Benjamin Wallin, a Baptist minister in London, dated Oct. 9, 1774, 31–32, in which Wallin bemoans the fact that a recent "petition, signed by a great number of respectable persons, for some further check to the horrid impiety [of Sabbathbreaking] not barely failed of success but was treated with derision [by Parliament]." Wallin complained that "little regard is now paid to a day once held sacred through the nation, the pollution of which is an inlet to all manner of disorder and wickedness and proves fatal to millions." Backus agreed. (See Backus Papers.)

[51] "I saw a Book writ by John Bolls of New London Printed 1734 in the latter end of which was set down 2 Copies of a record from under my grandfather Backus's hand of his punishing said Bolls and Sarah Colver 2 Quakers on July 26, 1725 for their traveling on the day before, which was Lordsday. . . . Both were whipt for breach of Sabbath, which they called Persecution." (Backus' unpublished diary, Aug. 4, 1754, *ibid.*)

struction of Sodom and Gomorrah, Backus wrote that this was "a plain testimony against mocking God."[52]

The Baptists were also perfectly willing that the state, through its chief magistrates, should require certain days of fasting, thanksgiving, or prayer to be observed throughout the year, thereby turning weekdays into Sabbath when everyone was supposed to stop work or travel, close his business, and resort to religious worship in the meetinghouses. Backus regularly read the governors' proclamations of such days from his pulpit and observed them in his church. This was part of the harmony between church and state about which he and Jefferson would have violently disagreed. Jefferson and Madison, as Presidents, pointedly refused to issue fast and thanksgiving day proclamations as Washington and John Adams had done.[53]

There is some difficulty in finding a quotation in all of Backus' forty-two published works and his many unpublished letters and papers in which he directly and forthrightly opposed the law requiring compulsory church attendance by all citizens on the Sabbath. His only reference to this was published in a tract of 1783 when he said that he and his brethren did not necessarily agree with the law, but, he added, "we have had no controversy with our rulers about this matter."[54] If Backus, who was among the most radical of the Baptists on this subject, did not wish to push such a controversy, it seems clear that most of his brethren probably agreed with the Standing Order that such a law was essential to the good order of a Christian commonwealth.[55]

There is no neat way to sum up the respective contributions of Backus, Williams, Jefferson, and Madison to the development of the American tra-

[52] Backus' unpublished diary, Feb. 11, 1798, *ibid.*

[53] It is not clear whether Backus opposed the payment of chaplains by the state and federal legislatures though in 1793 he did express displeasure with the United States Senate for paying five hundred dollars each to two episcopal bishops for this purpose. (See Isaac Backus, *Testimony of the Two Witnesses* [Boston, 1793], 46.)

[54] *Id., A Door Opened,* 6.

[55] Some historians consider John Leland a more radical exponent of Separationism among the Baptists than Backus; others more or less equate the views of the two men. In my opinion Leland was too eccentric to be typical of the Baptists, especially of those in New England. Leland spent his most productive years in Virginia where he imbibed much of the spirit of the most radical dissenters, and his views of Separationism were decidedly nearer to those of Jefferson and Madison than to those of Backus. His eccentricity can be indicated by the fact that after his return to New England to settle in Cheshire, Massachusetts, in 1792 he refused to perform the Lord's Supper in his church because it seemed to him an empty ritual. (See the records of the Cheshire Baptist Church, Pittsfield Athenaeum.) Like Madison and Jefferson, Leland wanted a high wall of separation between church and state, opposing not only public fast and thanksgiving days but even laws against dueling, lotteries, or for the enforcement of the Sabbath. In sharp contrast to Backus, who believed that America was and should be a Christian nation, Leland stated, "The notion of a Christian commonwealth should be exploded forever." (*The Writings of John Leland,* ed. L. F. Greene [New York, 1845], 107.) Leland became a scandal among the New England Baptists when, after Backus' death, he opposed the foreign mission movement, the Sunday-school movement, and the effort to persuade Congress to prohibit the delivery of mail on Sundays.

dition of separation of church and state. Williams, it would appear, was the least influential of the four and probably the least representative, for few Americans since 1750 have been pessimistic premillennialists, Calvinist typologists, and anticlerical Seekers. Jefferson and Madison spoke for a rationalist-humanist element in American thought that has become increasingly influential in the twentieth century but that throughout most of our history has been the view of a small minority. But Backus probably represents most adequately the evangelical view of Separationism—the "sweet harmony" of a Christian nation—that has predominated. Historians would do well to re-examine his position and to give it its rightful place in future evaluations of this notable tradition.

Italy's Neutrality and Entrance into the Great War: A Re-examination

William A. Renzi*

IN December 1908 Victor Emmanuel III, angered by the Austrian annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, strikingly revealed his attitude toward the Triple Alliance to the American ambassador at his court: "I am more than ever convinced of the utter worthlessness of treaties or any agreements written on paper. They are worth the value of the paper. The only real strength lies in bayonets and cannon."[1] It would be difficult to find more eloquent testimony to Italy's dubious position within the alliance. That country became its weak link; Italian diplomacy during the later years of the Triplice, therefore, is often limned in pejorative, negative, and even hostile terms. Rarely has more criticism been heaped on the foreign policy of a modern state.

Critics find one basic fault in Italian diplomacy: deliberate duplicity. Italy's diplomats are pictured as craftily placing a foot in both alliance blocs before the Great War, the attempt to deceive appearing obvious. In addition, the Italian government has been heavily censured for the tardy and dilatory fashion in which it declared its policy at the outbreak of the conflict. Luigi Albertini was foremost among the critics of Italian foreign policy during July and August 1914. The previous summer, in the course of the Second Balkan War, Rome had informed Vienna in unambiguous terms that it would not recognize the *casus foederis* of the alliance if Austria provoked a war with Serbia.[2] Albertini held that a similar *démarche* should have been made in 1914. Instead, "Italy slunk into neutrality by the back door, tender-

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[1] Ambassador Lloyd Griscom to Secretary of State Elihu Root, Dec. 9, 1908, Department of State Numerical Files, No. 9744/3–4, National Archives [hereafter cited as NA].

[2] *Dalle carte di Giovanni Giolitti: Quarant'anni di politica italiana,* ed. Claudio Pavone (3 vols., Milan, 1962), III, 90–91; Camera dei Deputati, Legislatura XXIV, Tornata del 5 dicembre 1914, *Discussioni* (Rome, 1915), 5650; Antonio Salandra, *La neutralità italiana: Ricordi e pensieri* (Milan, 1928), 449–52. The *casus foederis* of the alliance was operative if either Germany or Italy was the victim of an unprovoked attack by France. If one or more of the signatories was forced to declare war against any other single power, the others were pledged to maintain neutrality, although they could enter the conflict if they so desired. If two or more outside powers made war on any member of the pact, the *casus foederis* arose automatically. The alliance as it stood in 1914 is given in *The Secret Treaties of Austria-Hungary,* ed. Alfred Franzis Pribram (2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1920–21), I, 244–59.

ing apologies, cringing, still making promises [to its allies] which were to be flung back in her face when the day came for her intervention."[3] After several months of neutrality, Italy initiated a policy of "double blackmail"[4] by opening negotiations with both belligerent camps. It is a commonplace that it eventually sided with the *Entente* only because London, Paris, and Petrograd were willing to promise more than Vienna and Berlin. For the "predatory aim"[5] of obtaining Austrian lands that it considered irredenta, Italy chose the "devious path"[6] of "sacred egoism"[7] and entered the conflict by the back door.

This essay will attempt to show that the Italian diplomats were in fact no more deceitful or "Machiavellian" than their European counterparts. During the last decade a considerable amount of new documentation relevant to the diplomacy of Italian neutrality and intervention has been made available, and much of it has been published.[8] In the light of these new materials and certain older sources, Italian foreign policy during 1914 and 1915 can be seen as the culmination and solution of a problem that the diplomats in the Palazzo della Consulta had faced for nearly two decades. If the Italian

[3] Luigi Albertini, *The Origins of the War of 1914,* ed. and tr. Isabella M. Massey (3 vols., London, 1952–57), III, 314.

[4] Camillo Pellizzi, *Italy* (London, 1939), 37.

[5] Quote from Cyril Falls, *The Great War* (New York, 1959), 141.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] The phrase "sacro egoismo," employed by Prime Minister Antonio Salandra in a brief speech to the staff of the Italian Foreign Ministry in October 1914, was one of the most unfortunate pronouncements made by any civilian or military leader during the conflict. As reported in the press, it made a negative impression both in Italy and abroad. When British Ambassador Rennell Rodd in his *Social and Diplomatic Memories, 1902–1919* (London, 1925), 225, criticized Salandra for maintaining "that the war was not fought for the sake of humanity, for justice, for democracy," he touched on the heart of the matter. The conflict was rationalized by the *Entente* in moral and humanitarian terms. By asserting that Italy would follow instead only its national interests, Salandra unintentionally depreciated his government's policy. (The speech itself is given in Antonio Salandra, *I discorsi della guerra* [Milan, 1922], 3–4.)

[8] Whenever possible I have cited published materials in preference to unprinted documents available only in the various Italian archives. Renato Mori of the Archivio Storico, Ministero degli Affari Esteri (Rome), however, kindly permitted access to the Italian diplomatic documents for the years 1914 and 1915. Newly published primary sources include the following titles: Ministero degli Affari Esteri, *I documenti diplomatici italiani,* 4th Ser., *1908–1914,* XII, *(28 giugno–2 agosto 1914)* (Rome, 1964); 5th Ser., *1914–1918,* I, *(2 agosto–16 ottobre 1914)* (Rome, 1954); *Il carteggio Avarna-Bollati, luglio 1914–maggio 1915,* ed. Carlo Avarna di Gualtieri (Naples, 1953); Olindo Malagodi, *Conversazioni della guerra, 1914–1919* (2 vols., Milan, 1960), I; Ferdinando Martini, *Diario, 1914–1918* (Milan, 1966); Vittorio Emanuele Orlando, *Memorie, 1915–1919* (Milan, 1960); Mario Toscano, "Rivelazioni e nuovi documenti sul negoziato di Londra per l'ingresso dell'Italia nella prima guerra mondiale," *Nuova antologia,* CDVIC–CDVC (Aug.–Nov. 1965), 433–57, 15–37, 150–65, 295–312; G. B. Gifuni, "Tre memorabili giornate (maggio 1915)," *Il Risorgimento,* X (June 1958), 79–89; Brunello Vigezzi, "I problemi della neutralità e della guerra nel carteggio Salandra—Sonnino, 1914–1917," *Nuova rivista storica,* XLV (Sept.–Dec. 1961), 397–466; Corrado De Biase, "Il 'diario' dell ministro Vincenzo Riccio, 1915," *Nuova antologia,* CDLXV–CDLXX (Dec. 1955–May 1957), 527–46, 513–24, 89–100. There are in addition two secondary works written primarily from unpublished materials: Brunello Vigezzi, *L'Italia di fronte alla prima guerra mondiale* (1 vol. to date, Milan, 1966), I; Renzo De Felice, *Mussolini il rivoluzionario, 1883–1920* (Turin, 1965).

policy makers appeared guilty of deliberate duplicity, it was because of their nation's unique position in the prewar diplomatic milieu.

The Triplice was created in May 1882, and for over a decade Italy remained a relatively steadfast member of the alliance. When the Francophobe Francesco Crispi fell from power in 1896, the situation rapidly changed.[9] Franco-Italian relations, which had been frosty since France occupied Tunisia in 1881, immediately improved, and by 1902 the two powers had reached a definite rapprochement.[10] Camille Barrère, French ambassador in Rome from 1897 to 1924 and one of the chief architects of the rapprochement, later remarked that "there are times when the road from Paris to Rome leads through London."[11] There is no doubt that the formation of the *Entente Cordiale* in 1904 further weakened Italy's position in the Triplice, since friendship with Great Britain was perhaps the most basic touchstone in the Consulta.[12] Austrian penetration into the Balkans drove Italy closer to Russia, the third member of the *Entente*. Spurred by the Bosnian annexation, the two powers concluded the Racconigi Accord in 1909, wherein they agreed to lock Austria out of any further territorial gains in the Balkans.[13]

After 1896 relations between Rome and its formal allies seriously de-

[9] In January 1895 Crispi, clearly foreseeing the turn of the tide, warned Berlin: ". . . Italy will not leave the Triple Alliance as long as I am in power, I guarantee you. But if I fall from power, Italy's foreign policy will change direction." (*Die grosse Politik der europäischen Kabinette, 1871–1914* [40 vols., Berlin, 1922–27], VII, 139.)

[10] The history of the rapprochement with France is complicated and cannot be told here in detail. Briefly, in the fall of 1896 the two powers signed a convention that tacitly recognized French sovereignty over Tunisia, and in November 1898 an important economic agreement was concluded. The most significant step was the Accords of 1902: in an exchange of letters both powers agreed that if either became the victim of unprovoked aggression, the other would remain neutral. French President Émile Loubet received a warm welcome when he visited the Italian capital in April 1904, and the following July Paris severed relations with the Vatican, thereby indicating that the Roman question could no longer be considered an issue between the two states. Cordial relations continued through 1911. The following year friction flowing from Italy's war for Libya was manifest in several unfortunate maritime incidents with France, and Raymond Poincaré, who passed for an Italophobe, came to power. The best single volume on the rapprochement is Enrico Serra, *Camille Barrère e l'intesa italo-francese* (Milan, 1950).

[11] Quoted in François Charles-Roux, *Souvenirs diplomatiques: Rome-Quirinal, février 1916–février 1919* (Paris, 1958), 28.

[12] Friendship with Britain was imperative for Italy because of its long, unfortified coasts and its dependence on imports. The first treaty of the Triplice had been supplemented by separate ministerial declarations stating that the alliance was not to be considered as directed against Britain. In a subsequent renewal of the treaty the declarations were not repeated, but for all practical purposes Rome continued to consider them in force.

[13] The heart of the accord stated: "Russia and Italy must strive in the first place to maintain the *status quo* in the Balkan Peninsula; in any eventuality that may arise in the Balkans, they must uphold the application of the principle of nationality, to the exclusion of all foreign domination." (See Francesco Tommasini, *L'Italia alla vigilia della guerra: La politica estera di Tommaso Tittoni* [5 vols., Bologna, 1934–41], V, 477–96; Giovanni Giolitti, *Memorie della mia vita* [2 vols., Milan, 1922], I, 252–56; Alexander Savinsky, *Recollections of a Russian Diplomat* [London, 1927], 166–70; Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, *Materialy po Istorii Franko-Russkikh Otnoshenii za 1910–1914* [Materials on the History of Franco-Russian Relations for 1910–1914] [Moscow, 1922], 298.)

teriorated. Many points of friction with Austria developed, including increased rivalry in the Balkans, the growth of Italian Irredentism, and a military and naval arms race between the two allies.[14] An anti-Italian clique formed in Vienna, with Francis Ferdinand and Conrad von Hötzendorf as its two most important members. The latter, an ardent Italophobe and chief of the Austrian general staff during the later years of the alliance, made no secret of his desire to forestall what he considered to be the inevitable conflict with Italy by waging a preventive war against it.[15] Rome and Berlin were on more cordial terms, but the German government was frequently angered by Italy's flirtations with the *Entente*.[16] No more fitting example of Italy's true position in the alliance can be found than the antipathy that existed between William II and Victor Emmanuel III.[17] After 1911 relations between Rome and its allies improved to a modest degree; the improvement, however, was relatively short-lived and was caused primarily by Franco-Italian friction during the Italo-Turkish War.[18] By 1914 it was apparent that the Triplice was a military alliance in name only. Berlin had long since written Italy off as an ally in case of a general European war.[19]

On the eve of the Great War Italy's international position was thus highly ambiguous. For a number of reasons it maintained the alliance. Among Italian industrial and aristocratic cliques there was a great respect for German industrial and military achievement,[20] and German capital was

[14] The best survey of prewar Austro-Italian relations is William C. Askew, "The Austro-Italian Antagonism, 1896–1914," in *Power, Public Opinion, and Diplomacy,* ed. Lillian Parker and William C. Askew (Durham, N. C., 1959), 172–221.

[15] Although Francis Joseph fully appreciated the possibility of an eventual Austro-Italian conflict, he never accepted the concept of a preventive war. On one occasion he told Conrad: "My policy is a policy of peace; everything must fall in line with this policy. According to this sentiment my Minister of Foreign Affairs carries out my policy. It is very possible that it will come to this war, even probable. It will not be carried on, however, until Italy attacks us." (Quoted in Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf, *Aus meiner Dienstzeit, 1906–1918* [5 vols., Vienna, 1921–25], II, 281.)

[16] In November 1906 Chancellor Bernhard von Bülow, angered by Italy's conduct at Algeciras, actually told the *Reichstag:* "If Italy leaves the Triplice, we will permit Austria to declare war against it." (Quoted in André Tardieu, *La conférence d'Algésiras* [Paris, 1908], 468.)

[17] The Kaiser was primarily to blame for the antagonism since he adopted a condescending attitude toward the timid Italian monarch and frequently made deprecatory remarks about Victor Emmanuel and Italy in general. He is, for instance, seriously reputed to have referred to Queen Helen as a "peasant girl" and a "daughter of a Black Mountain cattle thief." (Quoted in Georg Alexander von Müller, *The Kaiser and His Court,* ed. Walter Görlitz [New York, 1961], 80.)

[18] See William C. Askew, *Europe and Italy's Acquisition of Libya, 1911–1912* (Durham, N. C., 1942), 272–74 *et passim.*

[19] Bülow wrote the Kaiser in March 1905, for example, that Italy could not be counted on in case of war, concluding: "However, it will be a not unimportant gain for us if Italy remains neutral instead of going with France." (*Grosse Politik,* XX, Pt. 1, 95; see also Paul von Hindenburg, *Aus meinem Leben* [Leipzig, 1920], 73; Hermann von Kuhl, *Der deutsche Generalstab in Vorbereitung und Durchführung des Weltkrieges* [Berlin, 1920], 154–55 *et passim.*)

[20] Thomas N. Page, American ambassador in Rome from 1913 to 1919, records with basic verity: "When the [world] war broke out, the entire force of the Consulta, from the

playing a significant role in developing Italian industry.[21] Had Rome terminated the arrangement, its allies might have made economic reprisals; in addition, the Consulta could not definitely rule out the possibility that, in such an eventuality, Conrad's plan for a preventive conflict might not be given serious consideration.[22] The old dictum still held true that only two basic relationships between Italy and Austria were possible: alliance or war.[23]

Yet Italian national interests also dictated cordiality with the *Entente.* The rapprochement with France was a natural and necessary counterbalance to the Triplice. No Italian government could risk Britain's displeasure, while friendship with Russia served as a potential brake on Austria's Balkan ambitions. By 1914 no other major European state was in so dangerous or precarious a position. In a Europe that was essentially bipolar, the Consulta followed the difficult course of preserving significant ties with both alliance blocs. If this could not be the result of each particular *démarche,* it had to be part of the same over-all policy process. Few if any of the Italian diplomats were guilty of deliberate duplicity. They followed, instead, a policy of duality, since they could not afford the security of a definitive commitment. It is in this prewar context that the events of 1914 and 1915 must be placed.

When Austria delivered its ultimatum in Belgrade on July 23, 1914, Italy was faced with its greatest diplomatic crisis since Villafranca. Italian

Minister almost down to the youngest under-secretary and functionary, had been reared in the dogma that the Triple Alliance was Italy's Ark of Safety. . . . This view was especially supported by two elements in Italy: one among the Business class of the North, the other among the 'Blacks,' or Vatican supporters among the Noble class in Rome." (*Italy and the World War* [New York, 1920], 142.)

[21] See Francesco Nitti, *Il capitale straniero in Italia* (Bari, 1915), 42–53 *et passim.* German commercial and industrial interests in Italy were significant enough to warrant special attention in both Paris and London after Italy entered the war. Paul Claudel was dispatched to Rome in November 1915 on a mission to study methods for "the reconquest of the fields abandoned . . . to German enterprise." (Louis Chaigne, *Vie de Paul Claudel et genèse de son oeuvre* [(Paris), 1961], 146; Paul Claudel *et al., Correspondance, 1897–1938* [(Paris), 1952], 283–84.) At the end of 1915 the British considered similar measures. Ambassador Rodd wrote Sir Edward Grey on Dec. 24 concerning the "fostering of Anglo-Italian trade," alluding to "the steps which our German rivals are taking to maintain the trade connections which they had established in Italy so successfully as to threaten to exclude the competition of all other nations." (Dispatch 920, Foreign Office/368/1313, Public Record Office [hereafter cited as FO, PRO].)

[22] The Consulta knew that Francis Joseph would probably never agree to a preventive war, but the heir to the throne, Francis Ferdinand, was believed to be an ardent Italophobe. As early as 1905 Victor Emmanuel admitted to the American ambassador in Rome that Francis Joseph's death would definitely increase the possibility of an Austro-Italian conflict. (George Meyer to Secretary of State John Hay, dispatch 467, Feb. 17, 1905, NA.) Each year the aging Emperor's health became a matter of increasing concern in Rome, and this concern in part explains the premature renewal of the Triple Alliance in 1912 when its expiration date was actually July 8, 1914. (See Giuseppe Avarna to Antonio Di San Giuliano, telegram 8499, Dec. 31, 1911, busta 15, fasc. 25, Carte Giolitti, Archivio Centrale dello Stato [hereafter cited as ACS]; Pansa to Di San Giuliano, telegram 8139, Dec. 17, 1911, busta 15, fasc. 25 bis, *ibid.*; Rodd to Grey, dispatch 48, Feb. 6, 1915, FO/371/2372, PRO.)

[23] The author of this maxim was probably Count Constantino Nigra. (See *Secret Treaties,* ed. Pribram, II, 136; Günther G. Jagow, *Ursachen und Ausbruch des Weltkrieges* [Berlin, 1919], 27.)

Foreign Minister Antonio Di San Giuliano had not been informed in advance of the actual content of the ultimatum, but for several days prior to its delivery he had been fully aware of the potential explosiveness of the international situation.[24] An Austro-Serbian conflict, with danger of escalation into a general European war, was a distinct possibility. This would directly affect Italian interests. Certainly Di San Giuliano did not wish to see Serbia crushed. Prime Minister Antonio Salandra wrote that "Serbia's defeat, with or without territorial diminution," would have reduced it "to vassalage and impotency" and would have signified:

> The definitive hegemony of Austria in the Balkans, and through it the triumphant invasion of Germanism into the Balkan Peninsula. We would have lost all hope of territorial expansion, and we would have lost the Adriatic in a commercial and military sense.[25]

On the other hand, Di San Giuliano could not afford to antagonize Vienna and Berlin. Since 1870 the myth of German military invincibility had exercised powerful influence in Rome.[26] If the Consulta refused to recognize the *casus foederis* of the alliance and its allies subsequently won the war, Italy's postwar fate might well be disastrous. As long as men of Conrad's views remained in power, the Italian government could only fear the result of Austrian and German victory. Even cobelligerency with its allies could be expected to yield little real profit. On August 2 Di San Giuliano outlined to his ambassadors in Vienna and Berlin the probable consequences of such a policy:

> It is superfluous to recount the sad consequences that a defeat of the Triple Alliance would produce. Even if it gained a partial victory, it would not be able to give us adequate compensations; and if the alliance won a decisive victory and reduced France and Russia to impotency for many years, there would be neither the interest nor the desire to give us compensations in proportion to our sacrifices.[27]

[24] Di San Giuliano analyzed the Austro-Serbian problem in July 1914 with considerable knowledge and insight. One of his principal sources of information was his close friend German Ambassador Hans von Flotow, from whom he knew that Austria intended to address substantial demands to the Serbian government, and as early as July 14 he expressed serious preoccupation concerning Austro-Serbian relations to a number of his ambassadors. (*Österreich-ungarns Äussenpolitik von der bosnischen Krise 1908 bis zum Kriegsausbruch 1914* [8 vols., Vienna, 1930], VIII, 494; *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 4th Ser., XII, 155–56.) The staff of the German embassy as well as Flotow himself betrayed anxiety concerning Austrian intentions. British Ambassador Rodd told Grey in a private letter of July 20 that a "feeling of uneasiness" was evident among the embassy personnel, concluding: "They seem to anticipate that the Austro-Hungarian Government is about to address a very strong communication to Servia [*sic*], and fear that Servia [*sic*], having a very swelled head, and feeling confident of the support of Russia, will reply in a manner which Austria can only regard as provocative." (FO/800/65, PRO.)

[25] Salandra, *Neutralità italiana,* 87.

[26] *Ibid.,* 140.

[27] *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 5th Ser., I, 2–3.

Victor Emmanuel III feared that German victory would bring the entire Continent under the domination of Berlin.[28] Salandra, carrying the monarch's fear to its logical conclusion, wrote: "The kingdom of Italy, if . . . victorious with them [the Central Powers], would at best have been reduced to first among the vassal states of the [German] empire."[29]

For Di San Giuliano the latter days of July 1914 were ones of both mental and physical anguish. A seriously ill man,[30] he sought refuge from the heat of Rome at the resort of Fiuggi Fonte, fifty miles southeast of the capital.[31] From the first he had no doubt as to what his policy must be.[32] Under any circumstances it would have been difficult to lead Italy to war on the side of the hated Austrians. Given the circumstances of 1914 it was almost impossible. For many Italians Austria appeared to be acting the role of an irresponsible aggressor.[33] It seemed likely, in addition, that Vienna would ignore and thus violate the terms of the alliance. Under its seventh article Vienna was required to reach previous agreement with Rome before it undertook territorial acquisition in the Balkan Peninsula, and the Austrians were also obligated to provide Italy with territorial compensation in proportion to its own gains in the Balkans. Di San Giuliano knew that the Austrian leaders would be reluctant to make him privy to their plans, much less allow him to claim Italy's irredenta as compensation.

More tangible factors also dictated a pacific policy. In 1915 the Italian Army might have been better prepared for war; in 1914 its condition was worse. [34] Serious warfare was, furthermore, continuing in Libya.[35] When it

[28] Martini, *Diario*, 401. Conversely, the King held that *Entente* victory would result in European hegemony being shared by three separate centers of power.

[29] Salandra, *Neutralità italiana*, 88.

[30] Since the age of twenty Di San Giuliano had suffered from severe attacks of crippling gout, having inherited the disease from both of his parents. (Rodd to Grey, dispatch 406, Oct. 16, 1914, FO/371/2007, PRO; Daniele Varè, *Laughing Diplomat* [New York, 1938], 63–64.)

[31] *Documenti diplomatici italiani*, 4th Ser., XII, 27, 78–79.

[32] Di San Giuliano is usually pictured as a firm partisan of the Triplice, and there is no doubt that he had labored to improve relations with Vienna and Berlin. Yet in 1914 he never seriously considered cobelligerency with the Central Powers. His was a plastic mentality, capable of quick response and adaptation. Rodd described him as being possessed of "a certain cynical irony which he found it difficult to repress." Varè expressed much the same opinion: "He was the greatest cynic I have ever known. To hear him talk, you would imagine that he believed in nothing and in nobody." (Rodd to Grey, telegram 406, Oct. 16, 1914, FO/371/2007, PRO; Varè, *Laughing Diplomat*, 63.)

[33] This attitude is clearly demonstrated in the Italian press. (See esp. "La pace in pericolo," *Corriere della Sera* [Milan], July 25, 1914; *La Tribuna* [Rome], Aug. 6, 1914.) I concur with Albertini's opinion that the Italian government would have met a veritable avalanche of opposition had it attempted recognition of the *casus foederis*. (See *Origins of the War*, III, 348.)

[34] No one has stressed this fact more than Luigi Cadorna, chief of the Italian general staff through Caporetto. (See his *La guerra alla fronte italiana* [2 vols., Milan, 1921], I, 13–27 *et passim*.)

[35] In August 1914 there were over fifty thousand Italian troops serving in Libya. (Ferdinando Martini, *Lettere, 1860–1928* [Milan, 1934], 489; Luigi Cadorna, *Altre pagine sulla grande guerra* [Milan, 1925], 47–99; Martini, *Diario*, 11.)

became apparent that Britain would follow France and Russia into the conflict—and the Italian leaders were convinced that this had been a probability from the first—yet another weight was placed on the scales.[36] The specter of hostilities against the combined English and French fleet was an eventuality that the Italian Navy clearly indicated it could not face.[37]

Neutrality was a necessity; the difficulty lay in implementing this policy. Both Vienna and Berlin asked Rome to recognize the *casus foederis* of the alliance. Di San Giuliano felt that it was not operative, primarily because Austria would be responsible for any conflict engendered by its ultimatum to Serbia.[38] But the summer of 1914 was not that of 1913. Austria clearly had German support, and a general European war was much more likely. The Consulta could scarcely afford to follow the precedent of 1913 and alienate its allies (the probable victors) with a definitive, explicit statement disavowing Austrian aggression. Instead, Di San Giuliano adopted a policy of caution, seeking to articulate and justify his position gradually, thereby softening the blow as much as possible.

On July 24 his course was set. That morning Di San Giuliano, Salandra, and German Ambassador Hans von Flotow were gathered in the Foreign Minister's hotel at Fiuggi Fonte. Official notification of the actual content of the Austrian ultimatum was delivered at the Consulta in Rome, and it was hastily telephoned to them.[39] In discussing its content Flotow himself exclaimed: "Vraiment, c'est un peu fort!" Although the exact details of the ensuing and quite lively conversation will never be known in complete detail, the following is definitely established: Di San Giuliano unequivocally stated that Italy was not obliged to be a cobelligerent if the ultimatum led to war, since Rome had not been consulted beforehand and, more important, because Austria was acting as an aggressor and would be the author of the conflict. Vienna was obliged to compensate Italy, however, under the terms of Article VII for any gains it might make in the Balkans, and if suitable

[36] Di San Giuliano informed his ambassadors in Berlin and Vienna on July 29 that Britain would definitely fight at France's side if war came, and on Aug. 3, in discussing Italy's declaration of neutrality with Malagodi, the Foreign Minister stated: "Our decision depended necessarily on that of England." (*Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 4th Ser., XII, 435; Malagodi, *Conversazioni,* I, 17; see also *ibid.,* 15–16; Salandra, *Neutralità italiana,* 90–94, 133; *Die deutschen Dokumente zum Kriegsausbruch* [4 vols., Charlottenburg, 1919], II, 142.)

[37] Thaon Di Revel to Salandra, Aug. 1, 1914, busta 2, fasc. 16, Carte Salandra, ACS; Salandra, *Neutralità italiana,* 182; *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 5th Ser., I, 2–3; *Deutschen Dokumente,* III, 104–105; Martini, *Diario,* 11; Eric von Falkenhayn, *The German General Staff and Its Critical Decisions, 1914–1916* (New York, 1920), 74.

[38] As early as July 14 Flotow reported to Berlin that Di San Giuliano had expressed this opinion in muted form. (*Deutschen Dokumente,* I, 67.)

[39] The Austrian Foreign Office informed Rome one day in advance that demands would be made in Belgrade, but the content of the ultimatum was made known to the Italian government the day after it was delivered in the Serbian capital. Berchtold thought this "perfectly adequate as an act of courtesy toward an unreliable ally." (*Österreich-ungarns Äussenpolitik,* VIII, 520–22.)

compensation were offered, the possibility remained that Italy might enter a subsequent war at the side of its allies.[40] These twin themes were the basis of Italian policy throughout the remainder of the diplomatic crisis.[41]

In Vienna, where the unreliable Italian allies were occasionally deprecated as "rabbits,"[42] Foreign Minister Leopold von Berchtold was reluctant to offer Italy compensation. Under pressure from Berlin to modify his attitude, he proposed a compromise formula by August 2 in which Italy would receive compensation that could not include Austrian territory only if it became a cobelligerent.[43] In the face of this intransigence Di San Giuliano gradually defined his policy. He consistently emphasized that Italy was not obligated to recognize the *casus foederis,* while at the same time raising the issue of compensation and hinting at the possibility of Italian intervention. Even after Italy's declaration of neutrality he was careful to leave the door open for possible cobelligerency if suitable compensation were offered.[44]

Kajetan von Mérey, the Austrian ambassador in Rome, termed this a policy of "blackmail," and from the Austrian viewpoint his appraisal was perhaps justified.[45] Di San Giuliano, however, felt that he was simply asserting Italy's just claims under the terms of the alliance. In addition, he could not definitely rule out Italian participation in the conflict on the side of the Central Powers. If Germany and Austria won a decisive victory, it would be in Italy's best interests to enter the war and accept whatever might be offered as reward. Finally, Di San Giuliano no doubt hoped that emphasis on the issue of compensation would encourage moderation in Vienna vis-à-vis Belgrade.[46]

By August 1 it was apparent that at least for the moment Italy would not follow its allies into the conflict. On the morning of August 3 the Stefani news agency carried the official declaration of neutrality. An attempt to offend no one, it benignly stated:

[40] *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 4th Ser., XII, 314–15; Salandra, *Neutralità italiana,* 75–78; *Deutschen Dokumente,* I, 168–69, 180–82. In regarding Austria as the aggressor and still recognizing the possibility of cobelligerency, Di San Giuliano came close to committing an act of bad faith since the Accords of 1902 pledged Italy to maintain neutrality vis-à-vis France if France were the victim of unprovoked aggression.

[41] The treaty of alliance did not link the two issues, and compensation would be due Italy regardless of its attitude toward the *casus foederis.*

[42] Ludwig Reiners, *In Europa gehen die Lichter aus* (Munich, 1954), 256. The remark referred to the supposed high Italian birth rate.

[43] *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 4th Ser., XII, 459–60, 474–75, 484, 503, 507, 509–10; *ibid.,* 5th Ser., I, 7–9; *Deutschen Dokumente,* III, 20, 72–73; *Diplomatische Aktenstücke zur Vorgeschichte des Krieges 1914: Ergänzungen und Nachträge zum österreichisch-ungarischen Rotbuch* (3 vols., Vienna, 1919), III, 87–88; *Österreich-ungarns Äussenpolitik,* VIII, 846–48, 961. Berchtold was induced to consider compensation for Italy only because "ein grosses Spiel handelt." (*Ibid.,* 846–48.)

[44] *Diplomatische Aktenstücke,* III, 121; *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 5th Ser., I, 97–98.

[45] *Diplomatische Aktenstücke,* III, 106–107, 131–33.

[46] See also Askew, "Austro-Italian Antagonism," 220–21.

Finding some of the powers of Europe in a state of war, and Italy being in a state of peace with all the belligerent powers, the government of the King and the citizens and subjects of the kingdom have the obligation to observe the duties of neutrality, according to existing legislation and the principles of international law.[47]

The calculated risk had been taken. If the Central Powers won a decisive victory, Di San Giuliano knew that the anti-Italian clique in Vienna might well demand that Italy be punished for its decision. For the moment all he could do was to prepare for any eventuality. On August 13 he wrote Salandra:

In my opinion we must not forget that Austria and Germany will probably win and, since this probability exists, we need to improve our relations with them. . . . At the same time we will cultivate relations with the other side, especially with England.[48]

The next day he repeated the same theme to Salandra: "The military situation and thus the political situation is still uncertain; therefore we will maintain a prudent reserve, and keep good relations with all the belligerents."[49] The dualism that had characterized prewar Italian diplomacy was still a necessity. But for the first time a solution might be forthcoming. On August 15 Di San Giuliano advised Salandra that they must await "the outcome of the great battle on the Franco-German front."[50] The verdict of the battlefield was anticipated with considerable anxiety in Rome.

The expected decision came on September 6–9, with the Battle of the Marne. It made an incalculable impression in Italy. "The spell was broken," wrote Salandra, the myth of German invincibility shattered.[51] The *Entente* now seemed the likely ultimate victors.[52] For intensely nationalistic leaders like Salandra, the opportunity that presented itself could not be ignored. "It seemed to me that the historic moment had arrived for attaining perfect national unity and for extending Italy's boundaries to the limits consecrated

[47] *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 5th Ser., I, 18.
[48] *Ibid.,* 136–37.
[49] *Ibid.,* 142.
[50] *Ibid.,* 152.
[51] Salandra, *Neutralità italiana,* 190.
[52] Abundant evidence verifies Salandra's assertion concerning the influence of the battle: Malagodi, *Conversazioni,* I, 20–21; Augusto Torre, "Ricordi di Antonio Di San Giuliano," *Nuova antologia,* CDLXIII (Jan. 1955), 39; Rodd, *Memories,* 215; Page, *Italy and the War,* 166; Matthias Erzberger, *Souvenirs de guerre* (Paris, 1921), 38; Bernhard von Bülow, *Memoirs, 1909–1919* (London, 1931), 192; Luigi Albertini, *Venti anni di vita politica* (5 vols., Bologna, 1951), Pt. 2, I, 337–38; Giorgio Rochat, "La preparazione dell'esercito italiano nell'inverno 1914–15 in relazione alle informazioni disponibili sulla guerra di posizione," *Il Risorgimento,* XIII (Feb. 1961), 16; Jules Laroche, *Au Quai d'Orsay avec Briand et Poincaré, 1913–1926* (Paris, 1957), 24; Giampiero Carocci, *Giolitti e l'età giolittiana* (Turin, 1961), 174. Despite Russia's defeat at Tannenberg, Di San Giuliano wrote Salandra on Oct. 6: "The Russians are having difficulties, but they . . . can be overcome. The latest Russian victory over the Germans appears to be authentic. You will also see that the condition of the Austrian Army is poor." (*Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 5th Ser., I, 538.)

by nature and tradition," he later wrote.[53] To achieve this goal, Italy would have to abandon neutrality to fight Austria. Di San Giuliano was of the same basic opinion. As early as August 9 he wrote Salandra and alluded to "if not the probability, at least the possibility" of a war against Austria,[54] later adding that it was necessary "in order to realize the great national goal, namely the achievement of Italy's natural boundaries."[55] The Foreign Minister was convinced that only active belligerency would suffice. On October 12 the journalist Olindo Malagodi queried him concerning Italy's postwar fate if it remained a neutral. He replied:

> [We would be] in a fine position! We would reap all the hatred of the Central Powers, who will attribute their defeat to our defection, and all the ingratitude of the other side, which will not care to remember benefits gained because of our neutrality.[56]

There is little doubt that Di San Giuliano would eventually have led Italy into the conflict; his last conversation with British Ambassador Rennell Rodd on October 11 indicates rather firm resolve to do so.[57] Five days later Di San Giuliano died in his apartment at the Consulta. With his demise Salandra temporarily emerged as the author of Italian foreign policy. After holding the portfolio of foreign affairs for twenty days, Salandra remade his cabinet. The Consulta was entrusted to Sidney Sonnino, his friend and former parliamentary mentor. Sonnino made a negative impression on many of his contemporaries, primarily because of his abundant and obvious self-confidence and his great reserve.[58] Salandra asserted, however, that by

[53] Salandra, *Neutralità italiana,* 191. Salandra had imbibed the ultranationalistic currents that flourished among certain Italian intellectual circles after the *Risorgimento.* It is interesting to note that in April 1914 he replied to intimations that he was a militarist and warmonger by stating on the floor of the Italian Chamber: "I have three sons who are the only hope, the sole purpose of my life. At this moment they are all in the army of the first line. And do you believe that I could want war, that I could madly lead the nation into military adventures? But if the nation desires war, they will leave in the same manner as the sons of the proletariat (Bravo!), singing with the young poet, who died for the defense of Rome: 'We are ready for death, Italy has called!' " (Camera, Legislatura XXIV, Tornata del 5 aprile 1914, *Discussioni* [Rome, 1914], 2276.)

[54] *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 5th Ser., I, 83–84.

[55] *Ibid.,* 500–501.

[56] Malagodi, *Conversazioni,* I, 23.

[57] Rodd reported to Grey: "he begged me to urge the following points for your consideration. He understood that you could make no definite engagements as long as attitude of Italy was hypothetical. But, if psychological moment arrived, as he thought it would arrive, when to prevent Italian interests in Adriatic, especially at Trieste, being compromised by menace of too great a Slav extension, Italian Government could, with good reason, call country to secure those interests by joining us, it would be necessary to act rapidly. Up to last moment conviction entertained by Germany and Austria that Italy would remain neutral should be encouraged." (Rodd to Grey, telegram 443, Oct. 12, 1914, FO/371/2008, PRO; see also *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 5th Ser., I, 561–62.) John A. Thayer in his *Italy and the Great War: Politics and Culture, 1870–1915* (Madison, Wis., 1964), 311, doubts that Di San Giuliano would have brought Italy into the war.

[58] See Francesco Nitti, *Rivelazioni: Dramatis personae* (Naples, 1948), 373–90; Carlo Sforza, "Sonnino and His Foreign Policy," *Contemporary Review,* CXXXVI (Dec. 1929), 721–32; Jules Destrée, *Figures italiennes d'aujourd'hui* (Brussels, 1918), 1–28. Prince von Bülow,

November 1914 Sonnino agreed that only intervention against Austria could guarantee fulfillment of Italian ambitions,[59] and in a certain sense his personality was well suited for the conduct of the protracted negotiations ahead.

The responsibility both men shouldered was tremendous. As early as August 11 Victor Emmanuel approved intervention in principle,[60] and in September Salandra told Colonial Minister Ferdinando Martini: "The King . . . will accept the decision of the government, whatever it may be. If it is for war, he has told me he will go to war. . . ."[61] Salandra could only conclude that the monarch "will never pronounce himself clearly" on the issue of war or peace.[62] Victor Emmanuel was, in essence, content to remain in the background and leave the conduct of foreign affairs to his ministers.[63] With the partial exception of Martini, the cabinet was told as little as possible concerning foreign affairs, while the Parliament was kept completely in the dark.[64] Both men had moments of doubt, hesitation, and anxiety concerning the course they were pursuing, as their correspondence clearly indicates.[65] To the last both were reluctant to play the "terrible card" of war.[66] But they were continually spurred by a number of highly vocal war factions, by the Italian press, and by the *Entente,* and the government never flagged in its hasty preparations for war.

As the end of the year approached, they sensed that the moment for serious *pourparlers* had arrived.[67] On December 11 Sonnino's ambassador in Vienna, Giuseppe Avarna, opened formal negotiations with Berchtold for compensation under the terms of Article VII. Avarna made it clear that the

sent to Rome in December 1914 as Flotow's replacement, was reputed to have remarked concerning Sonnino: "In a country of chatterboxes I have to deal with the only man who does not speak!" (Quoted in Jacques Bainville, *Italy and the War* [London, 1916], 193; see also Page to Secretary of State Robert Lansing, Dec. 4, 1915, Decimal Files, No. 763.72/2325.5, NA; Herbert Vivian, *Italy at War* [London, 1917], 21.) An official British Foreign Office publication gave the following comment on Sonnino: "He was silent and trustworthy, but, though respected, was unpopular in Italy; and his maintenance in power was due to two reasons: that the British and French Governments supported him, in order to prevent the return to the [Italian] Foreign Office of the Giolittian Tittoni; and that the Italians believed no one else was capable of obtaining so much from their Allies." (Foreign Office, *Italy* [London, 1919], 26–27.)

[59] Salandra, *Neutralità italiana,* 364 *et passim.*

[60] *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 5th Ser., I, 109.

[61] Quoted in Martini, *Diario,* 104.

[62] Salandra to Sonnino, Mar. 16, 1915, busta 2, fasc. 19, Carte Salandra, ACS.

[63] Prone to timidity, the monarch confessed to Salandra in May 1915 during the days of uncertainty that preceded Italian intervention that he had not wished to succeed his father to the throne, and he actually spoke of the possibility of abdication. (Gifuni, "Tre memorabili giornate," 81–85.)

[64] The *Verbali del Consiglio dei Ministri* for 1914 and 1915 (XI), deposited in the ACS, clearly indicate that the cabinet was not informed of major foreign policy decisions from September 1914 until May 1915.

[65] See Vigezzi, "Problemi della neutralità e della guerra," *passim.*

[66] Salandra to Sonnino, Mar. 16, 1915, busta 2, fasc. 19, Carte Salandra, ACS.

[67] Salandra, *Neutralità italiana,* 456.

Consulta now asked territorial compensation as insurance that Italy would remain neutral, and not as the prerequisite for intervention.[68] After the launching of the Anglo-French attempt to force the Dardanelles, which seemed the overture to the partition of Turkey, the *Entente* was formally approached.[69] In London Ambassador Guglielmo Imperiali delivered to Grey on March 4 a memorandum containing conditions for Italian intervention on the side of the Allies.[70] Five days later Grey notified Paris and Petrograd of the Italian *démarche*.[71] The Consulta was now engaged in simultaneous negotiations with both blocs of belligerents.

It is a commonplace that Rome reached agreement with the *Entente* only because they were the highest bidders. The very tenor of the negotiations casts doubt on this assumption. In Vienna Sonnino offered to exchange territorial compensation for continued neutrality, while in London he was willing to pledge armed intervention. If Salandra and Sonnino thought *Entente* victory over the Central Powers probable, what value would promises made by the defeated coalition have at the eventual peace conference? If Austria had been persuaded to cede territory before the termination of hostilities, could Britain, France, and Russia be expected to recognize such a *fait accompli?*

Either possibility seemed doubtful. The *Entente* was initially grateful for Italian neutrality, but by August 10, 1914, the Italian ambassadors in all three *Entente* capitals had been directly or unofficially informed that only armed intervention could guarantee fulfillment of Italian territorial ambitions.[72] This theme was persistently repeated by numerous *Entente* leaders,[73] by a barrage of *Entente* propaganda in Italy, and by a campaign for Italian intervention conducted by segments of the *Entente* press.[74] In Feb-

[68] Sonnino to Bollati and Avarna, telegram 1, Dec. 9, 1914, Avarna to Sonnino, telegram 4, Dec. 12, 1914, busta 5, fasc. 44, Carte Salandra, ACS.

[69] The Consulta was well informed concerning *Entente* military plans vis-à-vis the Straits. On Jan. 2, 1915, Ambassador Camillo Garroni in Constantinople told Sonnino: "The Ottoman government in the last few days has received confirmation of the assembling of a large Anglo-French squadron at the Dardanelles, with the apparent purpose of forcing them." (Telegram 24, Jan. 2, 1915, busta 4, fasc. 31, *ibid.*) There is no doubt that the Dardanelles campaign created an immediate and profound impression in Rome. On Mar. 9 Ambassador Page informed Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan that "an important Italian statesman" had observed to him that the campaign "undoubtedly tends to ripen matters." (Decimal Files No. 763.72/1705, NA; see also *Carteggio Avarna-Bollati,* ed. Avarna di Gualtieri, 70; Jules Destrée, *En Italie avant la guerre* [Brussels, 1916], 110.)

[70] Antonio Salandra, *L'intervento: Ricordi e pensieri* (Milan, 1930), 156–60; Imperiali to Sonnino, telegram 62, Mar. 4, 1915, Telegrammi riservati speciali di gabinetto in arrivo [hereafter cited as telg. ris. spec. gab. in arrivo], 1915, CDXXIV, Archivio Storico, Ministero degli Affari Esteri; memo from Imperiali to Grey, Mar. 4, 1915, FO/371/2507, PRO.

[71] Grey to George Buchanan and Francis Bertie, telegram 41/28, Mar. 10, 1915, *ibid.*

[72] *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 5th Ser., I, 63, 71–72, 81–82, 86–87, 95–96.

[73] Imperiali informed Rome on Nov. 20, for example, that Admiral John Fisher had spoken to a member of the embassy staff and urged intervention as the only policy compatible with Italian interests. (Telegram 11471, busta 8, fasc. 71, Carte Salandra, ACS.)

[74] On *Entente* propaganda in Italy, see Julien Luchaire, *Confession d'un français moyen* (2 vols., Florence, 1965), II, 14–39.

ruary 1915 Ambassador Andrea Carlotti in Petrograd transmitted to Sonnino a typical excerpt from a Russian journal, which read in part:

> Today Italy knows well that the earth usurped by the Habsburgs can only come into its possession again when it has been bathed in the blood of its sons; this is crude but historic law, *dura lex sed lex,* which has never been denied.[75]

If the Consulta were to ignore this advice and reach agreement with the Central Powers on the supposition that they might not be decisively defeated, the Italian government seriously doubted that they would cede promised territories at the close of the conflict or permit Italy to retain areas already given during the war. Imperiali telegraphed from London on August 7 that the staff of the departing German embassy had warned that upon termination of the conflict Berlin would avenge Italy's decision for neutrality, and a number of similar reports soon reached Rome.[76] The Italian government attached definite significance to them, as did the Italian military. Luigi Cadorna, commander in chief of the army, thought that the victory of the Central Powers could only mean disaster for Italy: "Without any apology whatsoever we would have to suffer their vendetta," he wrote his wife on September 18.[77] Fear of Austrian and German reprisal was so great that by spring 1915 the Italian command was seriously concerned about the possibility of an Austrian surprise attack before Italy could enter the war.[78] In conclusion, Salandra's memoirs, while often to be taken *cum grano salis,* may be read literally when he asserts that the negotiations in Vienna were intended as a ruse.[79] There could have been no better way to deceive the Central Powers concerning the Consulta's true intentions and at the same time to alarm the *Entente* and thus heighten their ultimate receptivity.[80]

[75] Carlotti to Sonnino, dispatch 647/137, Feb. 23, 1915, pacco 221, Ministero degli Affari Esteri. Carlotti identified the paper as the *Birsgevia Viedomosti.*

[76] *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 5th Ser., I, 62–63; see also *ibid.,* 68; Salandra, *Neutralità italiana,* 165.

[77] Luigi Cadorna, *Lettere famigliari,* ed. Raffaele Cadorna (Milan, 1967), 102.

[78] Salandra, *Intervento,* 116; Cadorna, *Guerra alla fronte italiana,* I, 53; Ufficio storico della R. Marina, *La marina italiana nella grande guerra* (8 vols., Florence, 1935–42), I, 374–75.

[79] See esp. Salandra, *Neutralità italiana,* 174–77, 457, and *Intervento,* 116, 131–34. A British Foreign Office publication of 1919 provided the following comment on the negotiations: "The Italian Government probably never contemplated the acceptance of their demands, and dallied with them only until the *Entente* had guaranteed Italy all that she asked as compensation for going to war against her former allies and until the Italian military preparations were completed." (Foreign Office, *Italy,* 28.) Rodd, after reading the Italian Green Book on the negotiations, told Grey: "The point which a study of the correspondence . . . to my mind brings out most strongly, is that Baron Sonnino, while studious to provide a logical and consistent justification for Italy's denunciation of the Triple Alliance, never really intended to come to any agreement with the Austro-Hungarian Government. . . . In his conversations with me Baron Sonnino never disclosed the actual course which these negotiations were taking; but he always gave me to understand that it was practically out of the question that Austria could ever offer terms which could be acceptable to Italy, and the documents published in the Green Book go, as I have said, to prove that he never intended that these negotiations should have further results than those of gaining time and of providing Italy with a plausible case." (Rodd to Grey, dispatch 178, May 26, 1915, FO/371/2375, PRO.)

[80] Almost from the start the negotiations were an open secret, and speculation was rife in the *Entente* capitals concerning the nature and extent of Austrian concessions to Italy. On oc-

From the outset the talks gave little promise of success; they were highly protracted and were marked by a conspicuous lack of enthusiasm on both sides. Avarna in particular entertained no illusions concerning his government's probable intentions, as is indicated by his correspondence with Riccardo Bollati, the Italian ambassador in Berlin.[81] Furthermore, as early as January 25, 1915, Avarna wrote Sonnino to inquire which power should be entrusted with the care of Italian interests in Austria in case of war,[82] and by that date his pessimism was well justified. Although Berchtold was reticent even to admit Italy's right to compensation, Sonnino had made it clear on January 6 that he wanted Austrian territory under the terms of Article VII.[83] The government at Vienna considered this an impossibility, fearing that it would set a highly dangerous precedent vis-à-vis the other "unredeemed" nationalities of the Dual Monarchy.[84]

The attitude prevalent in Berlin was more generous. The German leaders thought that Italy held the key to the Balkans. They feared that Italian belligerency would precipitate Rumanian intervention into the *Entente* camp, which would in turn affect the attitude of the other Balkan neutrals.[85] Consequently they urged Vienna to make any concessions necessary to ensure continued Italian neutrality. There was even serious talk of ceding German territory to Austria as compensation for its own cessions to Italy.[86] Francis Joseph nevertheless remained adamantly opposed to surrendering any portion of his domains to Italy; on more than one occasion he frankly stated he would abdicate first.[87]

casion relatively accurate information was obtained, as is shown by the following communication: "Russian Minister asks me to telegraph following information which he has obtained. . . . On March 7th Austro-Hungarian crown council in spite of opposition of Emperor resolved to offer Italy Trentino and Austrian territory as far as the Isonzo. . . ." (Lord Acton, Bern, to Grey, telegram 68, Mar. 16, 1915, *ibid.*)

[81] On Dec. 23, 1914, for example, Bollati wrote Avarna: "War against our allies of yesterday and today is inevitable; we would need a miracle to prevent it, and I do not know where one would come from." In his reply of Jan. 7, 1915, Avarna stated: "I persist in believing along with you that this exchange of views [concerning Article VII] is condemned at least for the present to certain failure, for the reasons that I have already explained to you." (*Carteggio Avarna-Bollati,* ed. Avarna di Gualtieri, 39, 43.)

[82] Avarna to Sonnino, Jan. 25, 1915, pacco 236, Ministero degli Affari Esteri.

[83] Sonnino to Avarna and Bollati, telegram 1, Jan. 7, 1915, Telegrammi riservati speciali di gabinetto in partenza [hereafter cited as telg. ris. spec. gab. in partenza], 1915, CDXXVII, *ibid.*

[84] Avarna to Sonnino, telegram 26, Jan. 23, 1915, telg. ris. spec. gab. in arrivo, 1915, CDXXIV *et passim, ibid.*

[85] See Glenn E. Torrey, "The Rumanian-Italian Agreement of 23 September 1914," *Slavonic and East European Review,* XLIV (July 1966), 403–20, and "Rumania and the Belligerents, 1914–1916," *Journal of Contemporary History,* I (July 1966), 180.

[86] Bollati to Sonnino, Mar. 19, 1915, telegram 133, telg. ris. spec. gab. in arrivo, 1915, CDXXIV *et passim,* Ministero degli Affari Esteri; *Carteggio Avarna-Bollati,* ed. Avarna di Gualtieri, 76–77, 85, *et passim;* Paul K. Freiwirth, "Germany and Austria-Hungary as Allies, 1914–1916," doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland, 1961, 89–114.

[87] *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 5th Ser., I, 7–9; *Carteggio Avarna-Bollati,* ed. Avarna di Gualtieri, 56.

In mid-January Stephan Burián replaced Berchtold as Austrian Foreign Minister, but his appointment failed to produce any change in the Austrian attitude toward compensation for Italy.[88] Burián quickly proved, if anything, to be even more recalcitrant that Berchtold—so much so that Avarna, who fervently hoped that war could be avoided, felt constrained to warn Sonnino that Burián might simply be stalling for time.[89] After several weeks of German pressure in Vienna, a crown council met on March 8 at Schönbrunn Palace. Its members decided that Italy could be offered a modest portion of the southern Trentino.[90] Sonnino had scarcely been informed of this concession when he asked that any territories given as compensation be ceded immediately.[91] He knew it was unlikely that Vienna would agree. By now his intentions were becoming obvious. In Berlin, Foreign Minister Gottlieb von Jagow bluntly told Bollati: "If the royal [Italian] government . . . maintains firm its demand for immediate cession of territory, the supposition that it does not desire a favorable result from the negotiations would unfortunately be justified."[92]

Berlin continued to urge conciliation in Vienna and moderation in Rome. Finally, at the very end of the negotiations, the Consulta was informed on May 19 that any areas decided upon could be ceded one month after a detailed, definitive accord had been reached.[93] But to the last Austria was reluctant to compensate its Latin ally.[94] On the day that Italy declared war on Austria, Bülow, the former Chancellor who was then ambassador in Rome, told his Austrian counterpart: " 'We were just not meant to succeed. We can say to ourselves, as Bismarck said to Prince Alexander of Battenberg when he was a candidate for the Bulgarian throne: "At least we shall have interesting memories." ' "[95]

The negotiations with the *Entente,* while marked by considerable dis-

[88] Contrary to rumor current at the time, Berchtold's retirement was not directly related to his attitude toward the issue of compensation. Avarna believed that the principal reason for his replacement was dissatisfaction with his lack of initiative, especially because Berchtold did not express his opinion on policy matters to the Emperor and was content simply to request the monarch's instructions. (Avarna to Sonnino, telegram 15, Jan. 16, 1915, telg. ris. spec. gab. in arrivo, 1915, CDXXIV, Ministero degli Affari Esteri.)

[89] Avarna to Sonnino, telegram 70, Feb. 23, 1915, *ibid.*

[90] Stephan Burián, *Austria in Dissolution* (London, 1925), 50–51.

[91] Sonnino to Avarna and Bollati, telegram 87, Mar. 10, 1915, telg. ris. spec. gab. in partenza, 1915, CDXXVII, Ministero degli Affari Esteri.

[92] Bollati to Sonnino, telegram 127, Mar. 16, 1915, telg. ris. spec. gab. in arrivo, 1915, CDXXIV, *ibid.;* see also Bollati to Sonnino, telegram 128, Mar. 17, 1915, telegram 187, Apr. 2, 1915, telegram 214, Apr. 12, 1915, *ibid.*

[93] Salandra, *Intervento,* 291–96; undated memo, busta 2, fasc. 18, Carte Salandra, ACS.

[94] In brief, Vienna eventually proved willing to concede most of the Trentino, boundary rectifications in the Isonzo region, the title of "Imperial Free City" for Trieste, and recognition of Italian sovereignty over Valona.

[95] Quoted in Karl von Macchio, *Wahrheit! Fürst Bülow und ich in Rom, 1914–1915* (Vienna, 1931), 134.

cord, saw the Consulta willing to moderate its demands in order that agreement might be reached. The Italian territorial claims, which formed the heart of the note of March 4, were considerable: the entire Trentino and South Tirol to the Brenner Pass, boundary rectifications in the Isonzo area, Istria, Trieste, all of Dalmatia, and the Albanian port of Valona.[96] Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Sazonov raised strenuous objections, primarily because the Italian claims were not compatible with the interests and aspirations of the southern Slavs. Grey and French Foreign Minister Théophile Delcassé, although not without their own reservations, forced Sazonov and Sonnino to compromise.[97] Rome agreed, in essence, to relinquish half of Dalmatia, while Sazonov acquiesced to Italian ownership of the remainder. On April 26 the Pact of London was signed.[98] This agreement was the Italian memorandum of March 4, corrected to indicate all the changes the diplomats had agreed upon, with one important addition: in exchange for the concessions promised, the Consulta agreed to declare war against the Central Powers within one month; Italy would have to be a belligerent by May 26, or Sazonov might raise new objections and declare the pact void.

The Italian government faced one final task. Despite the fact that war was to be made against Austria—the traditional enemy—the majority of Italians and their elected parliamentary representatives were firmly neutralist.[99] Their opposition was both ignored and blunted. Interventionist demonstrations erupted during the middle of May in the peninsula's major cities, principally inspired by a number of small but effective war factions.[100] Awed by the crowds in the piazzas, the Italian Chamber passed a bill on

[96] The note contained numerous other requests. In brief, the Consulta asked for the Dodecanese Islands and a further share of the Turkish Empire if it were partitioned, a portion of any eventual war indemnity, enlargement of Italy's African colonies if the German colonies were divided among the victors, a loan from Britain, and assurance that a papal representative would not be seated at the eventual peace conference. (For a detailed account of the negotiations, see Mario Toscano, *Il patto di Londra* [Bologna, 1934], and "Rivelazione e nuovi documenti sul negoziato di Londra"; W. W. Gottlieb, *Studies in Secret Diplomacy during the First World War* [London, 1957]; Michael Boro Petrovich, "The Italo-Yugoslav Boundary Question, 1914–1915," in *Russian Diplomacy and Eastern Europe, 1914–1917*, ed. Alexander Dallin *et al.* [New York, 1963], 162–93.)

[97] Delcassé later remarked that "Italy put a pistol to our heads," while Grey reflected: "In War you will have secret treaties. Many things regarded as criminal are regarded as inevitable in time of war." (Quoted in Henry Wickham Steed, *Through Thirty Years, 1892–1922* [2 vols., New York, 1924], II, 66; David Lloyd George, *Memoirs of the Peace Conference* [2 vols., New Haven, Conn., 1939], II, 502; see also Eduard Beneš, *Souvenirs de guerre et de révolution* [2 vols., Paris, 1928–29], I, 378–79.)

[98] The designation "treaty" was avoided by the negotiating powers, lest it indicate that parliamentary approval of the agreement was necessary.

[99] Salandra himself admits this fact in *Intervento*, 216.

[100] It is unlikely that the *raisons d'être* of the demonstrations will ever be completely explained. The best essay on the subject is Brunello Vigezzi, "Le 'radiose giornate' del maggio 1915 nei rapporti dei prefetti," *Nuova rivista storica*, XLIII–XLIV (Sept.–Dec. 1959; Jan.–Apr. 1960), 313–44, 54–111. During the historic grand council meeting of July 24–25, 1943, Benito Mussolini defended his policies by alluding to the events of May 1915: " 'Another point

May 20 by a secret vote of 407 to 74 that gave the government the necessary powers in case of intervention. A declaration of war was delivered on May 23 in Vienna.[101] The next day Italy embarked upon Salandra's "sacred war."[102]

In July 1931 Benito Mussolini wrote Salandra to thank the former Prime Minister for a gift copy of the second volume of his memoirs.[103] Of all the comments the *Duce* might have made concerning Italian intervention, it is interesting to note that he chose to reproach Salandra for not having brought Italy into the conflict at an earlier date: "In the earliest phases of the war the numerous battles might have above all else served to demonstrate the sometimes sublime valor of the Italian soldier."[104] Salandra, with what was perhaps both a greater knowledge and a more acute sense of history, was far more conscious of the final significance of Italian intervention.

For nearly two decades the Consulta had attempted to orient Italian foreign policy around two essentially opposite poles. Italy, termed a Great Power only out of courtesy, had to maintain significant ties with both alliance blocs. The catalyst of war provided a solution. By the end of 1914 Salandra and Sonnino, spurred by the nationalist war factions as well as the *Entente* and assured the passive support of the King, had decided to ally Italy as a cobelligerent with the *Entente*. Perhaps it was the wrong decision at the wrong time. Few will deny that the conflict strained every important fabric of Italian society, and that the war and the disillusionment that followed helped immeasurably to prepare the stage for the Italy of Mussolini and Fascism.

But in the spring of 1915 this was not foreseen. Salandra and Sonnino could, instead, contemplate the future with optimism. The prewar diplomatic dilemma had been solved. Italy would emerge from the conflict as a member of the victorious coalition, while Austria would no longer be a serious rival in the Balkans or in the Adriatic. As reward for its belligerency,

of the capitulationists is that "the people's heart is not in the war." . . . Was the people's heart in the 1915–18 war, by any chance? Not in the least. The people were dragged into the war by a minority which succeeded in winning over three cities—Milan, Genoa and Rome—and some minor towns such as Parma. . . . There was no sort of "sacred unity." The country was divided into neutralists and interventionists, and this division continued even after Caporetto.'" (Quoted in F. W. Deakin, *The Brutal Friendship: Mussolini, Hitler, and the Fall of Italian Fascism* [Harmondsworth, Eng., 1966], 485.)

101 Italy had less of a quarrel with Germany and in violation of the Pact of London did not immediately declare war against that nation. Only in 1916 were the Allies able to persuade Rome to deliver a declaration of war to the German government. (See C. Jay Smith, *The Russian Struggle for Power, 1914–1917* [New York, 1956], 424–25.)

102 Salandra, *Discorsi della guerra*, 36.

103 *Id., Intervento.*

104 Benito Mussolini MSS, T-586, reel 1088, frame 066987/1, NA.

Italian unification would be completed. The state of which Count Camillo Cavour, Giuseppe Garibaldi, and an entire generation of post-*Risorgimento* nationalists had written and dreamed would be a reality. From the viewpoint and retrospect of his generation, Salandra did not exaggerate when he judged the Pact of London as "the greatest, if not the first completely spontaneous act of foreign policy executed by Italy after the *Risorgimento*."[105]

[105] Salandra, *Intervento*, 186.

The Dissolution of the German Democratic Party in 1930

ATTILA CHANADY*

THE German Democratic party (*Deutsche Demokratische Partei,* DDP) was the first of the major political parties in the Weimar Republic to go down in the fierce struggle for survival. It was dissolved voluntarily by its own leadership in November 1930, two and a half years before the liquidation of the other parties by the National Socialists. A large section of its organization continued to exist within the framework of the new State party (*Deutsche Staatspartei,* SP), formed by leading Democrats and certain liberal reformers on November 9, 1930, a day after the official dissolution of the DDP and twelve years after the proclamation of the republic.[1] Although the State party is sometimes considered as the continuation of the DDP, the formal dissolution of the latter and the adoption of the name "State" party represented an unmistakable landmark in the history of the Weimar Republic. The end of the DDP marked clearly the end of the Democratic attempt, begun in November 1918, to reorient German liberal thinking and to build up a viable, democratic-liberal mass party in Germany. The DDP began its career, moreover, as the party that was committed most unequivocally to the basic principles of the Weimar Constitution. It liked to regard itself as the champion and the guardian of the new democratic state with which it was indeed associated by friend and foe alike. Its decline after 1919 and its ultimate dissolution in 1930 can be regarded as symptoms of the more general malaise of the Weimar Republic. Its failure to stand its ground in the fight for its ideals was symbolic of the failure of the democratic experiment in postwar Germany. Thus the whole process that culminated in the final party conference of the DDP in November 1930 can also be re-

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[1] On the German State party, see Erich Matthias and Rudolf Morsey, "Die Deutsche Staatspartei," in *Das Ende der Parteien 1933* (Düsseldorf, 1960); Sigmund Neumann, *Die Parteien der Weimarer Republik* (Stuttgart, 1965); on the founding of the party, see K. H. Beeck, "Die Gründung der Deutschen Staatspartei in Jahre 1930 im Zusammenhang der Neuordnungsversuche des Liberalismus," doctoral dissertation, University of Cologne, 1957.

garded as part of the wider process of the *Auflösung der Weimarer Republik* and deserves close attention.[2]

The DDP was an offspring of the German Revolution of November 1918. It was launched in response to the revolutionary events a few days after the collapse of the monarchy and the proclamation of the republic, at a time of grave national crisis. Theodor Wolff, editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt,* and his friends who took the initiative in forming the DDP were not all active members of the existing liberal parties.[3] Claiming that with the disappearance of the monarchy all political parties of the imperial era had become obsolete, they wanted to create an entirely new organization on the basis of democratic-republican principles. They rejected most emphatically the idea of a mere merger of the two liberal parties, the Progressives (*Fortschrittliche Volkspartei,* FVP) and the National Liberals (*Nationalliberale Partei,* NLP), which, in their view, were bankrupt and compromised by their own past. They opposed with great vehemence the participation in the DDP of Gustav Stresemann and those National Liberals who had supported annexations and unrestricted submarine warfare during the war.

The attitude and the objectives of Wolff's group decisively influenced the formation of the DDP. By its quick action it forestalled a possible official union between the Progressives and the National Liberals. In the process of creating the new party, however, the group was joined by the majority of the FVP and a large section of the NLP. Among the former members of these parties, there were many who conceived of the DDP as an all-embracing liberal *Sammelpartei* that would "fulfill the historic task" of ending the traditional feud between the social-minded Progressives and the more nationalistic Right-wing liberals.[4] Indeed some of the leaders of the FVP and the NLP had tried to effect a liberal union before the Revolution and con-

[2] Karl Dietrich Bracher's pioneer work on the end of the Weimar Republic, *Die Auflösung der Weimarer Republik: Eine Studie zum Problem des Machtverfalls in der Demokratie* (Villingen, 1960), does not deal with the Democratic party in any detail. As yet the history of the DDP has not been written, but see B. B. Frye, "The German Democratic Party 1918–1930," *Western Political Quarterly,* XVI (Mar. 1963), 167.

[3] The DDP was launched by a manifesto to the "men and women of the new Germany" published in the *Berliner Tageblatt,* Nov. 16, 1918; the manifesto was drafted by Wolff, editor of the paper since 1906, and signed by sixty persons, including Professors Albert Einstein, Hugo Preuss, and Alfred Weber, by the chairman of the Progressive party, Otto Fischbeck, and by prominent publicists and professionals. The "Democratic group" associated with Wolff included Weber, Hjalmar Schacht (a "Young Liberal"), and others whom Wolff does not name in his account of the events. On the founding of the DDP, see Otto Nuschke, "Wie die Deutsche Demokratische Partei wurde, was sie leistete und was sie ist," in *Zehn Jahre deutsche Republik,* ed. Anton Erkelenz (Berlin, 1928); Theodor Wolff, *Through Two Decades* (London, 1936); Gustav Stresemann's account of the founding of the People's party, in *Die Entstehung der Deutschen Volkspartei* (Berlin, 1919); also Wolfgang Hartenstein, *Die Anfänge der Deutschen Volkspartei 1918/20* (Düsseldorf, 1963); Henry Ashby Turner, Jr., *Stresemann and the Politics of the Weimar Republic* (Princeton, N. J., 1963).

[4] Nuschke, "Wie die Deutsche Demokratische Partei wurde," 27; Friedrich Meinecke, "Die Kulturfragen und die Parteien," *Friedrich Meinecke Werke* (6 vols., Darmstadt, Munich, and Stuttgart, 1958), II, 386.

tinued with their efforts to achieve this aim after the founding of the DDP, even though the irreconcilable nature of the conflict between the class-conscious Right-wing liberals and the Left-wing democratic liberals was quite obvious. Most of the prominent leaders of the DDP after 1919 took up an intermediate position and maintained that while their party was a new venture based on democratic-republican principles and independent of the prewar liberal parties, it was also necessary for it to include within its ranks all German liberals. This point of view was highly illusory. The two objectives—the creation and development of a new democratic-republican party and the union of all German liberals (that is, the FVP and the NLP, and later the DDP and the German People's party)—could not be reconciled. Their existence side by side in the program of the DDP was a disruptive force operating within the party from its very inception.

The first improvised program of the DDP, presented to the German electorate in December 1918 and January 1919, was formulated under the influence of the revolutionary events.[5] Its central theme was the unconditional acceptance of the republic and the social and political equality as proclaimed by the Revolution. At the same time it demanded in the strongest terms that all further changes be effected within a legal framework, that is, by a constituent assembly.

In the second half of 1919 the DDP adopted a more comprehensive program.[6] The most fundamental feature of this final program was the attempted reorientation of German middle-class liberalism in accordance with the teachings of Friedrich Naumann. The reorientation involved an adaptation to the changed conditions of twentieth-century industrial society in postwar Germany both in an ideological and an organizational sense. At its first conference in July 1919 Naumann was elected as the first chairman of the party; after his untimely death a few weeks later, his spirit was constantly evoked by his successors. His pleas that liberals should fight for their social and political rights, that "industrial subordinates" should be educated to be responsible and active "industrial citizens," and that an ideological bridge should be built to link the bourgeois liberals with the working classes were all incorporated into the general Democratic program. It was also under his influence that the provisional leadership of the party de-

[5] See the various electoral proclamations in December 1918 in Johannes Hohlfeld, *Dokumente der Deutschen Geschichte und Politik* (9 vols. to date, Berlin, 1952), III, 1–2; *Ursachen und Folgen des deutschen Zusammenbruchs 1918 und 1945 bis zur staatlichen Neuordnung Deutschlands in der Gegenwart,* ed. Herbert Michaelis and Ernst Schraepler (12 vols. to date, Berlin, n.d.), III, 175–77; Nuschke, "Wie die Deutsche Demokratische Partei wurde," 31.

[6] See the official program of the party, dated December 1919, in *Bericht über die Verhandlungen des ersten ausserordentlichen Parteitags der Deutschen Demokratischen Partei* (Berlin, 1920), Appendix.

cided at the end of 1918 to create an efficient organizational apparatus in a state of "permanent mobilization" and with a sound financial foundation that would be better suited to the demands of the new age.[7] Most Democrats shared Naumann's passionate patriotism which, though it led to the petulant rejection of the Versailles Peace Treaty in 1919, was certainly different from the Pan-German "Poltergeist" type of chauvinism.[8]

Certain important aspects of the party's program and objectives were less directly associated with Naumann's name. A basic principle, the championship of the republic, was laid down by the founding fathers of the DDP. Other prominent Democrats tried to develop this principle and infuse a certain popular content into it by calling for mass celebrations of the new state and its constitution.[9] Constitutional reform, aiming at the creation of a "decentralized unitary state," was the great ideal of Erich Koch-Weser, party chairman from 1924 to 1930, who fought untiringly against the particularism rampant in some of the smaller German states (*Länder*). His ideas constituted the basis of the official DDP reform projects.[10] In the sphere of foreign policy, the party advocated international rapprochement and adopted Walther Rathenau's "policy of fulfillment" and, after Rathenau's assassination, supported Stresemann's attempts to improve Germany's international relations.[11]

Naumann's cherished legacy might well have blended with republicanism and the idea of European reconciliation into a harmonious Democratic

[7] On Naumann, see Theodor Heuss, *Friedrich Naumann, Der Mann, Das Werk, die Zeit* (Stuttgart, 1937), esp. 443–516; on the organization of the new party, see *Akten der DDP*, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, R45 III/1, III/9; also Ernst Portner, "Die Demokratische Partei als Massenpartei," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, XI (Apr. 1965), 150–61.

[8] Friedrich Naumann, "Deutsche Demokratie," *Die Hilfe*, XXV (No. 32, 1919); on the Democrats' reaction to the treaty, see Erich Koch-Weser's diary entries for June 1919, in his collected papers, *Nachlass von Erich Koch-Weser*, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, XVII, 171–77; Wolff, *Through Two Decades*, 274–78; Nuschke, "Wie die Deutsche Demokratische Partei wurde," 34–36; and Carl Petersen's (chairman after Naumann's death in 1919) report to the first party conference in July 1919, in *Bericht über die Verhandlungen des ersten ordentlichen Parteitags der Deutschen Demokratischen Partei* (Berlin, 1919), 23–25.

[9] See, e.g., the editorial "Zum Jahrestag der Reichsverfassung," *Der Demokrat*, III (June 30, 1922), 398, and "Zwei Reden zur Verfassungsfeier" (two speeches on the Constitution by Koch-Weser and Wilhelm Külz), *ibid.*, VII (Aug. 12, 1926), 287–90.

[10] Koch-Weser was a lawyer of Protestant middle-class stock and had been mayor of Bremerhaven and Kassel and a liberal member of the Prussian *Herrenhaus* before 1918, with extensive experience in local government and administration. (See his *Einheitsstaat und Selbstverwaltung* [Berlin, 1928].) In this connection it should be noted that Preuss, "father" of the Weimar Constitution, former Left-wing member of the Progressive party, and founding member of the DDP, went much further than Koch-Weser when he envisaged the division of Prussia into *Reich* administrative districts. His conception of the unitary state, as explained in his first draft of the Constitution, was rejected by many in the DDP, in particular by the southern and southwestern German Democrats with federalist traditions. (See Heuss, *Friedrich Naumann*, 463; *id.*, *Profile* [Tübingen, 1963], 264; Gerhard Schulz, *Zwischen Demokratie und Diktatur* [1 vol. to date, Berlin, 1963], I, 123–73.)

[11] *ABC der DDP*, ed. Oswald Riedel (Brandenburg, 1927), 46; *Jahresbericht, 1921/2* (Berlin, 1922); proclamation of the DDP, Jan. 11, 1923, in *Deutscher Geschichtskalender*, XXXIX (1923), Pt. 1, 229–30; Erich Koch-Weser, "Erlebtes und Erreichtes," *Der Demokrat*, VI (Dec. 17, 1925), 536–42.

ideology. Behind an ostensible unity in the party, however, there were deep discord and a wide spectrum of political and socioeconomic ideas and concepts. The cleavage separating the group around Wolff from some of the former class-conscious liberals was already apparent in November 1918. During the acrimonious debates on the permanent program at the first two party conferences in 1919 further, equally fundamental differences were exposed. Subsequently, these differences led to a series of debilitating and prestige damaging secessions of individual members and factions.[12] The departure of die-hards and disgruntled liberals unfortunately did not result in a more homogeneous and viable organization. Throughout its history the DDP was troubled by internal conflicts and friction. In 1926 Koch-Weser found the situation in the party "precarious and unpleasant," the task of holding it together "almost impossible," and his own position as leader practically hopeless.[13]

Conflict in the DDP grew out of inbred socioeconomic prejudice and distrust, political and ideological differences, and personal feuds. A striking example of friction caused by class-conscious antagonism was the case involving Anton Erkelenz, Naumann's disciple and chairman of the Managing Committee and of the Committee of Workers and Employees in the DDP. Erkelenz was a dedicated Democrat who embodied the "spirit of Naumann" perhaps more than any other member of the party. He always stressed the need for dispersing authority, for the profound democratization of the army and the civil service, and for unselfish and undaunted work in the interest of the republic. And yet, he was a self-made man, a parvenu in the eyes of many of his colleagues. Because he represented workers and employees, the industrialists and businessmen in the party opposed his election as chairman of the Managing Committee in 1921. His notions of economic democracy, his alleged cosmopolitanism, and his insistence on army reform were regarded with suspicion or were even condemned outright. In later memoirs, some of his colleagues still spoke of him disparagingly or gave little credit to him and his role in the history of the DDP.[14]

A conflict with most eroding effects on the party concerned the attitudes

[12] There were two major waves of secessions from the DDP during the early years of the republic: the first during 1919–1920, the second in 1924. The departing Democrats were in most cases Right-wing liberals who joined the People's party. (See the text of a statement by seceding Democrats in *Nachlass Gustav Stresemann,* microfilm No. 24, Australian National University, Canberra, A.C.T., CCXIII, 138957–59, 138963, 138968–69; *Ursachen und Folgen,* ed. Michaelis and Schraepler, VII, 320–21; *Der Demokrat,* V [Oct. 23, 1924], 284–87; *Deutscher Geschichtskalender,* XL [1924], Pt. 2, 222–23; Hartenstein, *Anfänge der Deutschen Volkspartei,* 200–203.)

[13] *Nachlass von Erich Koch-Weser,* XXXIV, 233, 249–51, 379–81.

[14] See, e.g., Wilhelm Cohnstaedt, editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung,* in a letter to Friedrich Payer, Aug. 23, 1921, in *Nachlass Friedrich Payer,* Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, XIV, 63–64; Otto Gessler, *Reichswehrpolitik in der Weimarer Zeit,* ed. Kurt Sendtner (Stuttgart, 1958), 409.

of members toward the republic and the old monarchy and thus transcended more specific questions associated with liberalism. Eugen Schiffer, who left the DDP in 1924, considered himself a monarchist with a deeply rooted faith in order and organic development and, at a later date, referred contemptuously to the Weimar Republic as a "miserable work."[15] Otto Gessler, best known as Minister of Defense, was a *Vernunftrepublikaner* (republican by reason, not by conviction) who admitted that his "political passion was not for the Weimar Republic" but that his "heart belonged to the past, to the Bismarck *Reich*." The democratic republic "with its dull atmosphere, its plight in international affairs, and the whole party feud" was for him a dire necessity, and he served it only with "the ethos of a public servant." His loyalty remained with the House of Wittelsbach and with the "spirit of Potsdam," which he tried to infuse into the officer corps of the *Reichswehr*. His attitude toward the Left Wing of the DDP was uncompromising and highly prejudiced. He described his unflagging critics in that section of the party as "doctrinaire pacifists and literati with deeply rooted complexes," "blinded doctrinal fanatics," and "emotional radicals."[16]

The fundamental nature of the factional differences in the DDP often prevented the formulation of clear policies, hindered effective propaganda, and created the impression of irresolution. The never-ceasing search for compromise solutions made the leadership of the party an "art of the possible." How narrow the confines of this art were can be gauged by the depth of the factional cleavages and by the extremely precarious position of the DDP in German national politics. By 1928 popular support had dwindled from the promising 18.6 per cent in the 1919 election to 4.9 per cent.[17] At the same time, the incessant wrangling between individuals and groups in the party and the accompanying public polemics continued to damage its public image.

The results of the general elections in May 1928 were a great disappointment for the DDP. It polled 1,505,700 votes, about 400,000 fewer than in

[15] See the memoirs of Eugen Schiffer, *Ein Leben für den Liberalismus* (Berlin, 1951), esp. 206, 226, 234.

[16] Gessler, *Reichswehrpolitik*, ed. Sendtner, 170–74, 336. Gessler's special targets were the "Democrats of the Frankfurt line," Georg Bernhard and the *Vossische Zeitung*, the *Berliner Tageblatt*, and the pacifist organizations *Bund Neues Vaterland* and *Liga für Menschenrechte;* see also Werner Stephan, "Zwischen Bismarcks Tod und Hitlers Untergang," unpublished manuscript, 264; and *Nachlass von Erich Koch-Weser*, XXXIV, 381.

[17] Support for the DDP in the general elections was as follows: 1919: 18.5 per cent, 75 seats; 1920: 8.2 per cent, 39 seats; May 1924: 5.3 per cent, 28 seats; December 1924: 6.3 per cent, 32 seats; 1928: 4.9 per cent, 25 seats. The results of elections in the various German states *(Landtagswahlen)* show a similar pattern, although in some districts, notably in Württemberg, the party remained relatively strong. (For details of election results, see *Die Wahlen zur Nationalversammlung* [Berlin, 1919], and *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, CCXCI [Berlin, 1920], CCCXV [Berlin, 1928], CCCLXXII [Berlin, 1931].)

December 1924. The parliamentary representation of the party decreased from 32 to 25. The verdict of the voters should not, of course, have been unexpected. In spite of the optimistic belief in some party circles that the nadir in the fortunes of the DDP had been passed, there were many portents of further trouble ahead: the steady decline of support at the grass-roots level, the state of the organization, the increasing difficulty of holding the various factions together, and the secession of small but important groups of Democrats during 1926 and 1927, including those led by Wolff, Hjalmar Schacht, and Gessler.

A possible panacea for the Democratic malaise was seen in a merger with the People's party. The idea of such a merger had been an old and persistent theme ever since the founding of the DDP and the DVP at the end of 1918. Those Democrats who favored liberal unity at the time never ceased pressing for reconciliation and cooperation with Stresemann and his party. The topic was frequently discussed in the meetings of the Executive and Managing Committees and in the various publications of the DDP under the heading "rumors of fusion" (*Fusionsgerüchte*).[18] The desire to fuse was, however, not very strong in the leadership. The memory of the bitter antagonism that developed at the end of 1918 and in 1920 again as a result of the role of the *Deutsche Volkspartei* (DVP) in the Kapp *Putsch* rankled. Stresemann's monarchist sentiments and the intransigence of the Right Wing of his party also proved to be insurmountable obstacles in the way of a genuine rapprochement.

An attempt to end the old liberal division was made by Schiffer and his *Liberale Vereinigung* in 1924. Schiffer conceived of the liberal association as a supraparty organization that would facilitate the meeting and cooperation of all liberals irrespective of party ties and unhampered by party prejudice. But the ideological basis of the association, derived as it was from Schiffer's own political philosophy, was not compatible with the Democratic party program.[19] Doomed to failure in 1924 by Schiffer's leading role, the liberal unity movement was revived in 1928 under the leadership of August Weber and with the support of such prominent personalities as Gessler, Wilhelm Groener, Siegfried von Kardorff, Friedrich Meinecke, and Hermann Oncken.[20] The mutual distrust, however, was still intense. The internecine strife continued, and so did the many personal attacks on leading

[18] See, e.g., *Akten der DDP*, R45 III/18, 18–40, III/19, 27–28; *Der Demokrat*, I (Nov. 4, 1920), 37.

[19] See note 15, above.

[20] The *Liberale Vereinigung* was not dissolved after 1924, but remained quiet and without political influence until 1928; its chairman after 1926 was the Democrat Fischbeck. (See August Weber's unpublished memoirs, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 1956, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, 112–13.)

Democrats by members of the DVP and the liberal association. Only the simultaneous defeat of the DDP and the DVP in 1928 could create a favorable background for their union or forced marriage. Thus it was after the elections that the two party leaders, Koch-Weser and Stresemann, met and discussed the matter seriously. Whether they could have succeeded is mere speculation; their talks were cut short by Stresemann's illness and death in 1929.[21]

The seriousness of the position of both the DDP and the Weimar state after 1928 was recognized in Democratic circles; the weakness of the political Center, caught between the rising tide of Right-wing extremism and Left-wing radicalism, was obvious. There was, however, much hesitation regarding the steps toward an "innovation" or "rejuvenation." A number of political groups outside the DDP and the DVP tried to take the initiative in rousing and gathering the liberal bourgeoisie, but most of these stood nearer to the People's party and to certain reform groups within it.[22] Democracy did not seem to be a rallying point; the movements aimed at the reforming of the political structure of the non-Catholic "bourgeois Center" went in the direction of a moderate conservatism or conservative liberalism. For the DDP, reform of this kind would have meant sacrificing some of its dearest ideals. Its leadership was in favor of reform, but it was a reform of the Democratic program in certain details and its careful adaptation to the circumstances that it wanted. That it did not want to break with its own past and principles was evident from the character of the new economic program presented by Gustav Stolper at the party conference at Mannheim in 1929.[23] Some Democrats, however, were not satisfied with half measures and wanted either to begin again or press forward with negotiations for a merger with the DVP.

This attitude was most pronounced in the ranks of the Democrats in Baden and Württemberg, two traditional liberal strongholds. In Baden, leading local Democrats saw little hope for the survival of liberalism as a

[21] *Ibid.*, III, and *Nachlass von Erich Koch-Weser,* CI, where there are many references to the proposed *Parteifusion.* According to Weber, Ernst Scholz, Stresemann's successor, and the Right Wing of the DVP regarded a merger possible only in terms of an "unconditional submersion of the DDP in the DVP"; Weber also claimed that only one-third of the DVP parliamentary group supported Stresemann in respect to the proposed merger.

[22] The *Februar-Klub* in West Germany, the *Heidelberger Arbeitsgemeinschaft für jungdeutsche Politik,* the *Reichsgemeinschaft junger Volksparteiler,* the *Quiriten,* and the *Junge Front der staatsbürgerlichen Sammlung* in Berlin.

[23] Stolper's economic program was, for all practical purposes, a restatement of the original DDP ideals and economic policies. His speech, delivered when he presented his draft program to the DDP party conference in Mannheim on Oct. 5, 1929, was published under the title *Die wirtschaftlich-soziale Weltanschauung der Demokratie* (Berlin, 1929); see also *Akten der DDP,* R45 III/7, 185–95, 234–40, and Toni Stolper, *Ein Leben im Brennpunkt unserer Zeit, Wien Berlin New York, Gustav Stolper 1888–1947* (Tübingen, 1960), 481–87, Appendix with the text of Stolper's main theses.

political force after 1928 unless the DDP merged with the DVP and even with the Economic party (*Wirtschaftspartei*). They actively and wholeheartedly supported the supraparty movement *Die Front,* a "project for the union of the parties of the bourgeois Center . . . based on liberal values."[24] Fearing a Right- or Left-wing dictatorship in the country and the radical polarization of German politics, they demanded from all "liberal-minded citizens" a greater sense of discipline, better organization and propaganda, and firmer unity; otherwise, they prophesied, the liberal bourgeoisie would go down and perish between big business and reaction on the one hand and the proletariat on the other. This was an unmistakable approach to Stresemann's original point of view, which had called for the class-conscious representation of the interests of the bourgeoisie, rejecting the radical-democratic principles of the DDP leadership. It was also a reflection on the particular, separate position of the southwest German Democrats in the whole party. The Baden and Württemberg branches had their own traditions, were politically and sociologically less amorphous, were anchored deeper in the local middle class and linked more firmly with certain bourgeois interest groups, such as small- and medium-size industry, trade and commerce, than the DDP in the rest of Germany.[25]

The outcome of this situation in Württemberg was an increased cooperation between the DDP and the DVP and the Swabian Democrats' entry into the Right-wing state government in 1930. Under the influence of pressure group activity, the overriding objective of the party became, in the words of its local chairman, Peter Bruckmann, "positive government work . . . especially in the economic field."[26] The decision to accept a portfolio in the Center-DNVP-DVP cabinet was, however, by no means unanimous and in fact led to the resignation of Friedrich Payer, one of the most prominent and oldest members. The principles and tactical issues involved in the Württemberg move were hotly debated in Democratic circles throughout the country.

The intensity and acrimony of these debates reflected a terrible dilemma. The Democrats were caught between the currents of seemingly irresistible Right- and Left-wing radicalization. In Württemberg as elsewhere, many of them responded to the steadily deterioriating situation by pressing harder

[24] See *Nachlass Hermann Dietrich,* Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, CCXXXIX ("Die Front 1929"), esp. 1, 3, 7–8, 41; *Die Front* was loosely associated with the various liberal groups mentioned above, but it was not officially supported by the DDP.

[25] See Waldemar Besson, *Württemberg und die deutsche Staatskrise 1928–1933* (Stuttgart, 1963), 33.

[26] On this, see official account by the Württemberg branch of the DDP and Bruckmann's statement, both dated Jan. 22, 1930, and both addressed to the central office in Berlin, in *Nachlass von Erich Koch-Weser,* CIV, 1–19, 33–39; also Payer's explanation in a letter to the DDP in Berlin, Feb. 3, 1930, *ibid.,* 85–95.

than ever for liberal unity and going for at least a short distance with the current in the direction of the Right. These men regarded the merger between the DDP and the DVP and a sharper delimitation of the Left as primary conditions for survival. They implored the leaders of the party to take the initiative toward "closing the ranks"; they talked disparagingly of anyone in the DDP, and especially in its Left Wing, who was skeptical of a liberal union or even opposed it outright.[27] Others, however, particularly the majority of the central leadership in Berlin, conceived otherwise of the party's future.

To the outside world, the national party conference of the DDP in 1929 demonstrated a strong determination to carry on under the Democratic banner without the help of other political groups. The new economic program drafted by Stolper and accepted with enthusiasm by the delegates signified no departure from the original principles of the party. But while officially and ostensibly the party remained in favor of retaining its own identity and attempting a certain "regeneration from within," its chairman, Koch-Weser, and a number of his close associates were already negotiating behind the scenes, secretly seeking a fresh course—"over the dead body of the DDP," if necessary. Under the impact of the stinging defeat of 1928, frustrated by internal strife, and unable to see any positive sign of improvement in the political situation, they began discussions with the *Jungdeutscher Orden* (Young German Order) and certain liberal reformist groups, with the aim of forming a new party.[28]

Koch-Weser's great speech at the conference in 1929 did not give any indication of his schemes, but it revealed a restless, changing frame of mind and a deep, eroding disenchantment and pessimism.[29] After a well-received eulogy on Stresemann, who had died the day before, the chairman discussed three major issues: the rising radicalism and polarization in German

[27] An important mouthpiece of these Democrats was the periodical *Deutsche Einheit,* which made a rather sharp turn to the Right after the 1928 elections, forcing one of its prominent editors, Senator Peter Stubmann of Hamburg, to resign. (See the editorials "Schliesset die Reihen," X [May 26, 1928], 446–50; "Demokratie und Liberalismus" [June 2, 1928], 466–68; "Grosse republikanische Partei oder deutsche liberale Partei" [June 9, 1928], 486–90; and Stubmann's "Zur Entwicklung der deutschen Mittelparteien," in which he announced his resignation after eight years of service [June 30, 1928], 547–48.)

[28] On the Young Germans, see Klaus Hornung, *Der Jungdeutscher Orden* (Düsseldorf, 1958); the Young German League, led by Artur Mahraun, was a romantic and patriotic organization, originally a Right-wing, paramilitary youth movement *(bündisch)* politically near to the Nationalist party. After Mahraun left that party it became more moderate and prorepublican. In 1929 it formed its own political branch, the *Volksnationale Vereinigung* with the view of entering parliamentary politics. (See also Erich Eggeling, *Partei oder Bewegung?* [Berlin, 1930], *passim.*)

[29] Text of the speech at the Mannheim conference, Oct. 4, 1929, in *Akten der DDP,* R45 III/7, 17–55.

politics, the "failure" of the parliamentary system, and the precarious economic situation. Beneath his arguments lay the bitter realization that the ideals of his party, and the very idea of democracy, had lost and were still losing ground. He put most of the blame on the German political parties and the way they practiced parliamentarism which, in his view, had become a "poor version of the old bureaucratic system." The state, Koch-Weser said, was relegated to a secondary position under the control of aging, undisciplined parties and egotistic interest groups. The remedy, as he saw it, was constitutional reform, including the strengthening of *Reich* unity, the abolition of proportional representation, and the increase of presidential powers, accompanied by an "energetic presidential initiative" that would end the loathsome practice of government formation—"sheer horse dealing" —which Koch-Weser associated with "partyism."

The shift to the Right, so manifest in the chairman's attitude, was equally marked in the case of Gertrud Bäumer and in the party's Committee for Commerce, Industry and Trade. In Bäumer's case this shift took the form of a spiteful and regrettable polemic against the "spirit of Preuss"—the "radical, metropolitan and cosmopolitan spirit of Berlin"—which, according to her, permeated the Left Wing of the DDP.[30] The industrialists, too, reacted to the election defeat in 1928 by turning more sharply against the Left Wing, blaming it for the DDP's continuing decline. They demanded a clearer dissociation of the party from the Socialists and more willingness to come to terms with the People's party. They attacked the so-called "socialistic reform tendencies" and "politics of charity" of those Democrats who were "under pressure of trade-union propaganda." Already in 1926 they had demanded more influence in the party leadership, instead of a mere advisory function in special economic matters; toward the end of 1928 they were determined to play a more decisive role in the shaping of the DDP's future.[31]

Koch-Weser's exasperation with the parliamentary system and the mounting pressures in his party, the increasingly conscious emphasis by some Democrats on the interests and authority of the state and its President, and the various, fundamentally different conceptions of the party's future were the background against which further developments took place in the

[30] Gertrud Bäumer, "Konsequenzen des Wahlausfalls," *Die Hilfe,* XXXV (No. 12, 1928). To the same effect, Heuss, who was ideologically related to Bäumer, and an editorial in *Deutsche Einheit,* both condemning the "radical, metropolitan" Berlin spirit associated with Preuss; Heuss to Koch-Weser, Oct. 29, 1924, *Nachlass von Erich Koch-Weser,* XCII, n.p.; "Grosse republikanische Partei."

[31] Confidential statement to the members of the Committee of Commerce, Industry and Trade, Oct. 9, 1928, and minutes of the executive meetings of the same committee, Oct. 22, 1928, Nov. 2, 1928, *Nachlass Hermann Dietrich,* CCXXVIII, 161–67, 259–85.

DDP during the first half of 1930, leading ultimately to dissolution in November of that year. These developments were complicated and accelerated by the momentous domestic events in Germany: the Great Coalition collapsed in March and was succeeded by a government whose authority was based on presidential decrees; the depression, with its symptoms of unemployment and declining production, was intensifying; the *Reichstag* was dissolved in July, and the Nazi movement was rapidly advancing and threatened to absorb most supporters of the Protestant middle-class parties.

The central leadership of the DDP began the new year by issuing a solemn appeal to all sections of the party to maintain discipline and unity and strive for effective, coordinated work, instead of publishing views contrary to official policies or negotiating with outside groups independently.[32] This appeal was made in response to the crisis in Württemberg and the controversy in party ranks following it. It was followed up by another official statement in March in which the entry of "certain" Democrats into the *Volksnational* movement was regretted and regarded as a flagrant violation of party discipline and the directives laid down in the January appeal.[33] The vague but obvious references in this statement to the internal ferment created an atmosphere of deep confusion in the party. In a meeting of the Managing Committee early in May all rumors of a fusion with the DVP were denied by Koch-Weser who condemned the very idea of a "mere merger of existing parties," favoring, as he put it, the creation of something entirely new.[34] Although with this he almost revealed his clandestine contacts with the Young Germans, this still was not known to anyone outside his own narrow circle of "conspirators." How oblivious some of the leaders were to Koch-Weser's schemes was suggested by their severe criticism of Ernst Lemmer and his social-republican circle (*Sozial-republikanischer Kreis*) for a milder form of the offense that the chairman had been committing for months: independent action. Lemmer had founded his circle with the purpose of attracting young people to the DDP and bolstering their democratic convictions. The group had distinctly Left-wing tendencies in that it aimed at a "bourgeois-socialist synthesis" and rejected the idea of cooperation with the moderate-conservative splinter parties and the DVP.

By May 1930, then, developments in the DDP had reached a critical stage. Although the central office was still trying to talk the turmoil out of existence, prominent Democrats wrote about it openly. Bäumer, in a series

[32] "An die Mitglieder und Wähler der DDP," *Der Demokrat*, XI (Jan. 5, 1930), 1–2, and official circular of the central office in Berlin, Jan. 22, 1930, in *Akten der DDP*, R45 III/43, 1–63.

[33] See Circulars 1–6, issued by the central office in Berlin, Jan.–Apr. 1930, *ibid.*

[34] The Managing Committee on the political situation, May 5, 1930, *Der Demokrat*, XI (June 6, 1930), 201–203.

of articles, pleaded for a reorientation of the bourgeois parties, including the DDP, and for the abandoning of their rigid forms which frustrated all attempts to transcend traditional barriers between them.[35] Others, notably Erkelenz Hermann Schäfer, and Karl Johann von Voss, called for more dedicated work for the cause of democracy under the Democratic banner. They claimed that the DDP had always been a "state party" and the right place for state-conscious citizens whose political aspirations were adequately expressed by the party's program. Thus there was no need for a merger or other drastic moves.[36]

The first overt official reference to the *Sammlungsbewegung* going on behind the scenes was made at a tumultuous meeting of the Executive Committee on May 25. This meeting was similar to others in which party members were urged to work harder in the interests of the fatherland, to maintain "personality values," and to show more solidarity and confidence in the leadership. The committee adopted by 118 to 25 votes the following resolution:

> The DDP appreciates the significance of the political goal of strengthening the republican and democratic Center against Right and Left . . . by bringing together forces of kindred convictions. Faithful to its traditions, it is prepared to cooperate in this, but in doing so it also realizes that a mere initiative by adjacent parties without agreement regarding social and cultural principles would not lead to that goal. For that reason, the DDP regards the strengthening and securing of its own foundations as its immediate task. . . .[37]

This resolution marked a transition in the official attitude of the DDP. It allowed room for the diverse tendencies in the party, for those who wanted to rejuvenate it from within and those who wanted it to join the *Sammlungsbewegung*. As its 118 supporters undoubtedly differed in their interpretation of what constituted a "kindred" force, the resolution conspicuously refrained from specifying any particular group with which the DDP was supposed to conduct negotiations. Koch-Weser was certainly not authorized to deal with the Young Germans on behalf of the party.

The dissolution of the *Reichstag* on July 18 gave these developments a dramatic twist. As general elections were called for September 14, preparations for a campaign had to be made immediately. Responding to this challenge, Koch-Weser, Bäumer, leaders of the Young Germans, *Die Front, Februar Klub,* and certain nonsocialist trade-unionists met on July 23 and,

[35] Gertrud Bäumer, "Die innenpolitische Gärung," *Die Hilfe,* XXXVI (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 1930).

[36] Anton Erkelenz, "Die Krise der Parteien," *ibid.* (No. 17, 1930), and "Bekenntnis zur parlamentarischen Demokratie," *ibid.* (No. 18, 1930); Hermann Schäfer, "Angriffsziele fortschrittlicher Volkspolitik," *ibid.* (No. 20, 1930), and "Fortschrittliche Volkspolitik," *ibid.* (No. 21, 1930); Karl Johann von Voss, "Und doch die Demokratische Partei," *ibid.* (No. 28, 1930).

[37] *Akten der DDP,* R45 III/14, 100–101; *Der Demokrat,* XI (June 5, 1930), 251–57.

after a few days of intense negotiations, agreed to launch the new State party on July 28. The proclamation announcing this was signed by "fifty leading personalities from all walks of life."[38]

For the DDP in general, the founding of the State party came as a great shock. As we have seen, Koch-Weser's role in the antecedents had not been known. He had not acted in his capacity as chairman. He had opposed a movement on the party level; what he had wanted was a new organization created by "free and unprejudiced" liberal personalities, a movement from below, as it were, an initiative similar to that of the Wolff group in 1918. Thus he had not asked for the approval of his party. It was different, however, when the future of the DDP came to be discussed at a meeting of the Executive Committee on July 30. Koch-Weser wanted the DDP to place its apparatus at the disposal of the SP and eventually to fuse with it completely. Because of the limited time available for the election campaign, he had to persuade his fellow Democrats to make a decision at once.

Koch-Weser was an experienced lawyer and parliamentarian and a brilliant speaker with a quick grasp of the essentials of political situations. He was also a clever debater, always ready for incisive repartee, and he was used to being at bay and having to extricate himself from often hopeless difficulties. In the party he had to defend and justify his peculiar mode of leadership—personal dictatorship, as one of his colleagues put it—on many occasions.[39] Now he needed all his skill and reasoning power to overcome a spirited, indignant, and mistrustful opposition.

He began by apologizing to the Executive Committee for his high-handed and unauthorized action, justifying it at once by a melancholic reference to the failure of the party to fulfill the expectations of its founding fathers.[40] Then he went on to define the character and the objectives of the SP. This, he admitted, was daring and hazardous, but he thought that without taking risks the reorientation, which had long been the common desire of all Democrats, was not possible. Thus, he felt that, in the final analysis, he had acted in their best interests. Carried away by this self-assurance, he added that it was, after all, better for the Democrats to leave their fate in the hands of their leaders. The SP, he went on, was a new creation formed by a combination of experienced Democrats and certain "latent youthful forces not compromised by the old and existing feud and

[38] *Ibid.* (Aug. 5, 1930), 328–29. From the DDP the most prominent signatories were Koch-Weser, Bäumer, Dietrich, Hermann Höpker-Aschoff, Wilhelm Külz, and August Weber. (See also Artur Mahraun, *Die Deutsche Staatspartei* [Berlin, 1930], 37.)

[39] *Nachlass von Erich Koch-Weser,* XXXVI, 61–63; meeting of the Managing Committee, Mar. 23, 1930, *Akten der DDP,* R45 III/21, 31.

[40] For the proceedings at the meeting, see *ibid.,* 14, 103–27, and *Der Demokrat,* XI (Aug. 5, 1930), 329–35.

animosity between the parties." It would try to gather loyal republicans dedicated to the work of "progressive development of state institutions" and to the principle of private property. It would be independent of the pressure and influence of trade-unions, entrepreneurs' and capitalists' organizations, and other socioeconomic interest groups. It would fight against radicalism of any kind, be that Left or Right Wing. Toward the Social Democrats it would take up an objective attitude and would not enter into any alliance against them. It would be a party of reform and would regard as one of its first tasks the initiative for a plebiscite on electoral and *Reich* reform.

Koch-Weser's outline did not reveal any basically new political features. He conceded this when he said that the only difference between the old and the new party would lie in the SP's more enthusiastic application of democratic principles and in its greater fighting spirit. Structurally, however, the SP would have presented features unlike those of the DDP. As a result of the conflicts associated with these features, the new venture did not survive in the form conceived by the signatories of the inaugural proclamation.

At first, of course, the circumstances forced the DDP leadership into reluctant submission. In the absence of a reasonable alternative, it decided to accept Koch-Weser's precipitate action and support the SP during the election campaign. A vote against the *fait accompli* would have caused infinite confusion in the rank and file of the DDP, not to speak of the electorate. The recognition of this fact played an important part in swinging the executive behind its chairman and led to the adoption, against four votes, of the following resolution:

> The Executive Committee of the DDP approves of the founding of the State party and places its own organization at its disposal for the election campaign. The Executive Committee expects from the State party that it will most resolutely strive to unite all forces of kindred conviction for common political work.[41]

This resolution did not conceal the bitterness and frustration of many Democrats in the Executive Committee who condemned Koch-Weser's personal brand of leadership. Nor did it prevent these Democrats from expressing in no uncertain terms what they thought of the Young German movement. It was, they said, a romantic, racist, and chauvinist group of people who should not have been trusted by the DDP. They also felt that the new venture, begun as it was by some Democrats, Young Germans, and a few other individuals, without the participation of the People's party or the moderate Nationalists who had seceded from Alfred Hugenberg's

[41] *Deutscher Geschichtskalender,* XLVI (1930), 454; see also diary entry for July 29, 1930, *Nachlass von Erich Koch-Weser,* CV, 99–105 (the whole volume concerns the founding of the SP).

DNVP, could hardly have a wide mass appeal. Indeed, well-coordinated planning by politicians representing a much wider section of the population would have been a *conditio sine qua non* for success. A revolution, like the one that had helped Wolff launch the DDP effectively in 1918, was also absent. Nor was there harmony between the coalescing groups. The agreement between Koch-Weser and the leader of the Young Germans, Artur Mahraun, was only tentative and needed the confirmation of the DDP and the Young German organization.[42]

In the leadership and the provincial branches of the DDP the response to the founding of the SP varied and ranged from tacit acceptance to outright condemnation and flat refusal to cooperate. Erkelenz, long chairman of the Managing Committee, and a group of his friends from the Left Wing of the party, quit the DDP and joined the Social Democrats.[43] Most of the pacifists seceded, too, and subsequently founded the *Unabhängige Demokratische Vereinigung* (Independent Democratic League) and then the Radical Democratic party. The disaffection also extended to other sections of the party. The chairman of the DDP in Düsseldorf-West, Dr. Dechamps, wrote to Koch-Weser and vented his indignation about the "undemocratic way in which the party was maneuvered into this situation." Invitations to the crucial meeting of the Executive Committee (of which he was a member), he alleged, had been sent to him and to others in Düsseldorf only two days in advance. Because of the short notice and the poor timing—it was not possible for many businessmen to leave their work on the thirtieth of the month—many prominent local leaders were not present when the far-reaching decision to support the SP was made. For his part, he would certainly not join this new organization.[44]

The signs of disintegration were strangely misinterpreted by Koch-Weser's supporters. In a comment on the secession of Left-wing members, Bäumer welcomed the loss of the "egotistical and self-righteous orthodoxy that had always been a danger to the party and isolated it from the outside world."[45] Her assessment of the situation was most unrealistic and typical

[42] The agreement concerned a temporary joint leadership, consisting of Koch-Weser, Mahraun, Josef Winschuh, and Glimm, and a temporary action committee. Vague agreement was also reached concerning DDP principles and "due consideration of Young Germans" when questions of leadership and election nominations were discussed in districts where they were especially strong, such as Thuringia, Saxony, Hanover, Schleswig-Holstein, and Westphalia. All details, and the final constitution, however, were left to an SP conference that was to take place after the elections.

[43] Correspondence between Bäumer and Erkelenz, published under the heading "Staatspartei und Sozialdemokratie," *Die Hilfe,* XXXVI (No. 33, 1930); see also Eggeling, *Partei oder Bewegung?* 18.

[44] Dechamps to Koch-Weser, July 29, 1930, *Nachlass von Erich Koch-Weser,* CV, 79–89.

[45] Bäumer's reply to Erkelenz, *Die Hilfe,* XXXVI (No. 33, 1930); "Ein offener Brief," *ibid.* (No. 35, 1930); "Im Parteiapparat gefangen," *ibid.* (No. 34, 1930); "Heraus aus der parteipolitischen Verkrampfung," *ibid.* (No. 31, 1930).

of a theoretical-liberal approach to politics. As often in the past, she again implored all Democrats to place the interests of the state and nation above those of the parties (including the DDP); once again, she lashed out against the evil influence of socioeconomic pressure groups. Her judgment of the character of the Young German movement was, as it turned out, an inexcusable political blunder. In her words, the DDP faced the "task of uniting with a movement that, in its own language, expresses the democratic idea by the word 'volksnational,' and that is a democratic movement of other forces and different coloring, very closely related to Naumann's national socialism." Such a union, she added, could only benefit the DDP in which the older components were "frozen in fruitless rationalization," without strong personal bonds and without a strong sense of personal obligation and community spirit.

The outcome of the elections in September 1930 did not vindicate the expectations of those who had launched the SP. Their enterprise failed to elicit a substantial response from the Protestant middle classes; the SP did not make inroads into the domain of the DVP or the moderate conservative groups. It received fewer votes than the DDP alone in 1928.[46] This defeat and the all too painful realization that the SP was a spent force before it could gain political momentum created much bitterness and a near panic in the DDP. Koch-Weser withdrew from active leadership, allegedly for medical reasons, but his malady was more spiritual and political than physical. The Prussian Democrats Hermann Höpker-Aschoff and Oscar Mayer took the helm of the party and tried to steer it toward a better, but unrealizable, future. There was a further, small-scale exodus from the rank and file, including nine deputies of the outgoing Parliament.[47]

Democrats and Young Germans blamed each other for the SP's ignominious showing in the elections. Whereas the latter tended to ascribe whatever local successes the party had achieved in some parts of Germany to the "new elements" in it, the Democrats, and especially those who had opposed Koch-Weser and his *coup d'état* in July, felt completely abandoned by the Young Germans. They complained that Mahraun's claim of nationwide support had not been substantiated by the results of the election, and they were indignant about the rampant anti-Semitism in the ranks of the Young Germans, which had made it difficult for Jewish or half-Jewish Democrats to get nominations or to sign the official proclamations of the

[46] The SP received 3.8 per cent of the total votes in 1930, the DDP 4.9 per cent in 1928; the difference amounted to about 200,000 votes. For the 1930 election results, see *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, CCCLXXXII (Berlin, 1932).

[47] This was revealed in a meeting of the Managing Committee, Sept. 27, 1930, *Akten der DDP*, R45 III/22, 109. Those who left included Willy Hellpach, DDP presidential candidate in 1925.

SP and even exposed them to frequent frontal attacks in their press. There was also some bitter personal feeling against Mahraun, whose self-appointed position as the extraparliamentary leader of the SP was regarded in the DDP as usurpation of authority. The pain caused by these unpleasant circumstances was all the more stinging because the DDP had provided virtually all the facilities—organization and finance—for the running of the election campaign. Now, it seemed, the party was stranded hopelessly, with only the unknown ahead.

Two overriding, interacting issues had to be dealt with promptly by the Democratic leadership: the DDP's strained relations with the Young Germans and the question of its corporative entry into the SP. At the end of September the Executive and Managing Committees were, broadly speaking, divided into two uneven sections, one opposing a hasty dissolution of the DDP, the other pressing for it.[48] Both groups demanded further negotiations with the Young Germans regarding the final constitution of the SP, but whereas the opponents of dissolution recommended caution and pleaded against an automatic transfer of the DDP into the SP, others, notably Koch-Weser, Bäumer, Höpker-Aschoff, and Werner Stephan, wanted to convene a special conference immediately in order to effect an official, final dissolution.[49] The chief arguments against a corporative entry into the SP were based on the opposition to Mahraun's personality, the anti-Semitism and chauvinistic foreign policy of the Young Germans, and the fear that the Democrats would be subordinated to the "new elements" in the SP. In reply to these points the advocates of dissolution claimed that the continuing existence of the DDP would represent yet another chapter in the tragedy of German liberalism. In their view, moreover, this was impossible because the elections had been contested only by the SP; thus the new *Reichstag* deputies could not speak for the DDP. Koch-Weser also felt that his old party could not be held together as such and that its defeat would have been even more catastrophic had it contested the elections under the Democratic banner. Others again pleaded for the abandoning of the "narrow party point of view" in the hour of national crisis and for a complete and unhesitating fusion with the SP.

A resolution adopted by the Managing Committee on September 27 and the accompanying conditions attached to an offer of further negotiations

[48] *Ibid.*, 109–32; the whole political position of the DDP and the SP was discussed at this meeting under the chairmanship of Meyer.

[49] According to the constitution of the party it could be dissolved only by a majority decision of the conference. The outspoken opponents of dissolution included Georg Bernhard and Richard Frankfurter, a Berlin lawyer who was prominent in the leadership of the party organization.

with the Young Germans reflected clearly the deep divisions in the Democratic leadership. The resolution was worded skillfully so as not to alienate Mahraun, but at the same time it also stressed that certain "sacred principles" of the DDP were not negotiable. The conditions laid down for further contacts with the Young Germans were, moreover, uncompromising and corresponded more or less to the demands of the opposition in the Managing Committee. It was stipulated that the leadership of the SP organization should not be in the hands of Mahraun alone, that all changes in the program effected or proposed by Mahraun should be revoked, that all criticisms of Democrats by Young Germans should cease at once, and, finally, that the DDP would only be dissolved if the political organizations of the Young Germans, the *Volksnationale Vereinigung,* were likewise disbanded.[50]

Negotiations between the DDP and the Young Germans continued to be unsuccessful. The Democrats insisted upon the acceptance of their stiff conditions; the Young Germans rejected them and demanded in turn controlling positions in the SP. They sent an ultimatum to the DDP leadership, and, when this was returned scornfully, left the SP en bloc on September 30.[51] The Democrats, together with a number of individuals from the liberal reform groups, *Reichsbanner* and Christian trade-unions, were left behind to decide the fate of both the DDP and the SP.

The decision was made at the last meeting of the Managing Committee of the DDP on October 16 and, finally, at the "dissolution conference" held at Hanover on November 8.[52] On both occasions the crucial question debated was again whether to persevere with the SP without the Young Germans or, reversing the earlier decision, to retain the identity of the DDP and try to rebuild it and regain its lost prestige and momentum. The obstacles in the way of a smooth solution were enormous. The circumstance that had led to the creation of the SP, the *coup d'état* methods employed, the lamentable failure in the elections, and the break with the Young Germans were most unfavorable factors burdening the new party from the outset. Weighing heavily against the continued existence of the DDP were the mere presence of the SP, the membership in it of certain liberals who would never have joined the DDP, and, of course, the fact that the party was so irreparably discredited in the eyes of many of its former supporters and voters. Its halfway disintegration between July and November and the

[50] *Akten der DDP,* R45 III/22, 132.

[51] See Höpker-Aschoff's report to the meeting of the Managing Committee, Oct. 16, 1930, *ibid.,* 140–43.

[52] For the protocols of the meeting and the conference, see *ibid.,* 139–64, R45 III/8, 2–54.

almost complete collapse of its organization in many parts of the country made its future, and the future of the SP, extremely precarious.[53] Koch-Weser resigned formally from all posts in the party, though he did not relinquish his *Reichstag* seat immediately as demanded by the local branch of Potsdam, his electoral district. At the same time, following the earlier secessionists, a growing number of other Democrats, including such prominent members as Otto Fischbeck, Dernburg, Bernhard, and Philipp Wieland, were turning their back on the old organization.

The two final meetings of the DDP leadership were held in an atmosphere of great tension. There were much indecisive talk, a bitter consciousness of failure, a sense of frustration, mourning, and nostalgia. No clear course was indicated for the future; there were no signs of a "liberal-democratic rejuvenation." A group of pacifists still in the party, led by Professor Ludwig Quidde, pleaded for loyalty to the DDP on the grounds that the SP had started its career disastrously and departed regrettably from democratic principles. The majority of those present, however, agreed that the DDP was too debilitated, less popular than ever, and had no chance of survival. Although even Koch-Weser and Höpker-Aschoff admitted that the common venture with the Young Germans had been a mistake—Koch-Weser ended his political career by apologizing to the conference for his misjudged action—the consensus of the delegates was in favor of carrying on with the SP. The vote for the latter ranged from an enthusiastic dedication to the "new cause" by Bäumer and Dietrich to the rather reluctant choice of the lesser evil by others. In fact, Dietrich not only pleaded wholeheartedly for the automatic merger of the DDP with the SP, but also threatened that in case of further bickering and disagreement he and the whole Baden branch of the party would resign.

The final resolution calling for the dissolution of all Democratic organizations, local and regional branches, and for their fusion with the SP was passed against sixteen votes. It ended formally the history of a party that had identified itself unequivocally with the German democratic republic created at Weimar in 1919. Twelve years after the Revolution, the "party of the republican constitution" faded out of existence. The following day, the SP was officially constituted by former Democrats and by those who had come to it from other political quarters. In a sense, their creation was but an artificial prolongation of the self-immolated DDP. It had no power, no

[53] It was estimated in the meeting of the Managing Committee that 80 per cent of the DDP organization in Germany was not functioning properly. (*Ibid.*, R45 III/22, 151.) Senator Stubmann stated that the organization of the DDP in Hamburg, still intact early in July, collapsed after the July crisis. (*Ibid.*, 152.)

popular appeal, no sociological basis, and no future. But its approach to politics rested on the support and acceptance of a semiauthoritarian system of government, represented by Heinrich Brüning and based on presidential powers. Its structure, too, was essentially different from that of its predecessor, which had lost much of its substance and shed its entire Left Wing before it was joined by men of liberal but not of Democratic convictions. Thus its two-and-a-half-year history should not be regarded as a mere continuation or even conclusion of the history of the DDP. Its failure, however, was as much a symptom of the Weimar Republican malaise as the ignoble end of the Democratic experiment in 1930.

Completing Japan's Political Reorientation, 1947–1952: Crucial Phase of the Allied Occupation

Justin Williams*

THE desire of the Japanese to forget the Allied occupation, which lasted from September 1945 to April 1952, is matched only by our lack of interest in it. But this curious state of affairs does not alter the fact that the occupation was "perhaps the most remarkable peacetime diplomatic experiment we have ever conducted," or that it "drastically affected the entire fabric of Japanese society and life."[1] Nor does it mean that the full story of that historic confrontation between West and East has already been told.

On the contrary, many aspects of the occupation have been glossed over, but none more conspicuously than Japan's progress toward democracy during the five years following the effective date of the American-inspired Constitution in May 1947. Most students of the subject persist in the belief that during the first two years or so of the occupation the "peaceful and responsible government" contemplated by the authors of the Potsdam Declaration was established.[2] It is the purpose of this study to correct that erroneous impression by rendering more intelligible the salient features of the final five years of "Japan's American Interlude."

The reader should bear in mind that although General Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) from the beginning of the occupation until his dismissal in April 1951, executed occupation policy in masterful fashion, he did not make it. Policy goals, political and otherwise, were fixed in Washington by the high-level State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee, known as SWNCC. That body's fundamental policy for occupied Japan was outlined in five papers: the Potsdam

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[1] *The United States and Japan,* ed. Herbert Passin (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1966), 2.

[2] See, e.g., Robert E. Ward, "The Legacy of the Occupation," *ibid.,* 30–33; Hugh Borton, *Japan's Modern Century* (New York, 1955), 421–23; Frederick S. Dunn, *Peace-Making and the Settlement with Japan* (Princeton, N. J., 1963), 70–76; Robert A. Fearey, *The Occupation of Japan: The Second Phase, 1948–1950* (New York, 1950), 3. In 1947 Douglas MacArthur recommended that the military occupation be ended, but not that Japan's sovereignty be restored; the democratization program, he thought, at that time, should be continued under the supervision of a United Nations commission. (*Nippon Times,* Mar. 19, 1947.)

Declaration, July 26, 1945; the Initial Post-Surrender Directive, September 6, 1945; the Basic Post-Surrender Directive, November 3, 1945 (commonly referred to as Joint Chiefs of Staff-JCS-1380/15); SWNCC 228, "Reform of the Japanese Governmental System," January 7, 1946; and United States Interim Directive Number 96 for stabilizing Japan's economy, December 11, 1948.[3] But these five papers did not constitute a comprehensive plan for achieving the assigned goal. They suggested no order of priorities, failed to indicate how the trappings of a democratic society might be fitted into the Japanese scheme of things, gave no hint of what the reconstructed Japan would resemble, and set no time limit for completing the job. These details were left to the discretion of the Supreme Commander. Consequently MacArthur, with the help of his staff, decided on the content and timing of the prescribed educational, land, industrial, and labor reforms, on criteria for removing ultranationalists, on matters pertaining to elections, civil rights, and constitutional revision. And when the new Constitution became operative, MacArthur's headquarters (GHQ)—notably the Government Section under Brigadier General Courtney Whitney and his deputy, Colonel Charles L. Kades—turned to the task of helping to structure the new system of government and to make it work. This involved, among other things, reviewing and readjusting the relationships between GHQ and the Japanese government.

The informal method by which the Supreme Commander performed his task after the first months of the occupation would have been impossible without the wholehearted cooperation of the Japanese bureaucracy, the only group capable of running the government. Pursuant to the Emperor's request,[4] Japanese officials obediently, if not always cheerfully, accepted both the new Constitution and major responsibility for its implementation. But because they were unfamiliar with Western democratic principles and practices, all levels of the Japanese bureaucracy looked to their GHQ counterparts for guidance. Not always waiting for GHQ instructions, they frequently sought GHQ counsel. As Professor Kenzo Takayanagi viewed the scene in 1950:

[3] The first-, second-, and third-mentioned papers are in a number of standard works on the occupation. SWNCC 228 is in Theodore McNelly, *Sources in Modern East Asian History and Politics* (New York, 1967), 177–86, and its significance is discussed in Justin Williams, "Making the Japanese Constitution: A Further Look," *American Political Science Review,* LIX (Sept. 1965). The ten-point economic stabilization program prescribed by Interim Directive No. 96 is outlined in MacArthur's Dec. 19, 1948, letter to Premier Shigeru Yoshida, which was released to the press.

[4] Imperial Rescript, Sept. 2, 1945, in Government Section, SCAP, *Political Reorientation of Japan, September 1945 to September 1948* (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1949), II, Appendix A, 6.

the . . . American lawyers . . . are generally very eager . . . to confer on the Japanese the benefits of the best law they know. Japanese officials are, like many Japanese intellectuals, curious to learn something novel and are generally inclined for that and other reasons to follow their advice. . . . It is largely in such a peaceful and semi-academic atmosphere that the Anglo-American law is now making its way into Japan.[5]

To underscore the submissiveness of Japanese officials to the strange democratic concept and their diligence in trying to master it, Takayanagi added: "[Japanese] Experts in many fields are now being despatched to the United States . . . to study the imported institutions in their homeland."[6]

A typical example of the Japanese bureaucracy's cooperation was the mid-1947 agreement on cabinet orders entered into between the Cabinet Legal Bureau and the Government Section. The rationale for the agreement was explained in this internal Government Section memorandum:

Under the Meiji Constitution the bulk of Japanese legislation was accomplished by . . . Imperial Ordinance. . . . until May 3, 1947 it gradually became customary for this Headquarters to accomplish its objectives by means of the Imperial Ordinance. . . . Now that the legislative process is vested entirely in the Diet it is anticipated that an attempt will be made by executive agencies to accomplish by Cabinet order what actually amounts to legislation. . . . It is therefore recommended . . . that all Cabinet orders . . . relating to Diet legislation, prior to promulgation, will be submitted to the Government Section for approval or for coordination with the appropriate GHQ staff section.[7]

Accordingly the Cabinet Legal Bureau agreed to submit to the Government Section a weekly list of all cabinet orders of a substantive nature "for approval prior to their promulgation."[8] Thirteen months later, in August 1948, the requirement for prior GHQ approval was eliminated; henceforth it was sufficient to forward copies of promulgated cabinet orders certified by the Attorney General "to be in strict compliance with the directives of the Supreme Commander, the Constitution, and the laws of Japan."[9]

The system devised to maintain surveillance over the legislative process was also simple and effective. It rested on a 1946 agreement with the Central Liaison Office (CLO), which provided that the CLO would furnish to the Government Section, in English, texts of all legislative bills proposed by the cabinet prior to their submission to the Diet, texts of all member bills

[5] Kenzo Takayanagi, "Reception of Foreign Law in Japan," address delivered at Lincoln's Inn, London, Eng., Aug. 5, 1950, and published in *Seiji-Keizai-Ronso,* II (Oct. 1951), 2–11.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Frank E. Hays memo to Whitney, May 5, 1947. Copies of all GHQ memos, reports, correspondence, press releases, and other unpublished documents and papers cited are, unless otherwise indicated, in my personal files; most of the original documents can be found at the Douglas MacArthur Museum, Norfolk, Virginia.

[8] Frank Rizzo memo, June 23, 1947. The agreement was approved by Kades, July 8, 1947.

[9] This Aug. 5, 1948, revised agreement was signed by Tatsuo Sato for the Attorney General and by me for the Government Section.

submitted to the Secretary General of each house for introduction, daily written summaries of Diet deliberations including the agenda for the next day's session, and the daily edition of the *Official Gazette*.[10] The agreement was never changed; under it the two units staffed by the CLO who were assigned to cover legislative activities in the Diet supplied a constant flow of pertinent information to the Government Section, which disseminated it to the Supreme Commander and the several staff sections of GHQ.[11] The CLO units also served as the channel of communication on legislation between the Government Section and the Diet; no bill was introduced in either chamber, or amended after introduction, until authorization was given by the Government Section through one of the CLO bodies.

In exercising its staff responsibility for all matters relating to the Diet, as fixed by a 1947 GHQ order,[12] the Government Section ran into difficulty, not with the Japanese government, but with other GHQ staff sections, particularly the Economic and Scientific Section (ESS). At issue was the shifting of greater responsibility for legislation to the Japanese cabinet and Diet. To this end the Government Section recommended prompt GHQ clearance for introduction in the Diet of all legislative proposals—bills and amendments—that did not violate specific occupation directives and policies.[13] ESS, on the other hand, objected to clearing legislative proposals with fiscal implications until all details of funding had been settled, and it refused to permit such proposals to be amended after their submission to the Diet.[14] The differences between the two most important staff sections of GHQ were never settled because the Supreme Commander refused to intervene. Though sympathetic to the Government Section's side of the argument, MacArthur feared that the economic stabilization program, unless rigidly controlled by GHQ, would, as he informed Premier Shigeru Yoshida, be obstructed by "improvidential political conflicts, unobjective labor strife, and destructive ideological pressures."[15] But he did nothing to dissuade Whitney from exerting pressure on ESS and the Chief of Staff.

Caught between the insistence of the ESS on "a true balance in the consolidated budget," as prescribed by Interim Directive Number 96 of December 1948, and the Government Section's emphasis on "a legislative body, fully representative of the electorate, with full power to reduce, in-

[10] Guy J. Swope memo to Whitney, May 11, 1946.

[11] In the period June 1946–March 1952, 722 Government Section "Diet Reports" were prepared, under my direction, from this information and distributed within GHQ.

[12] GHQ Staff Memo No. 29, "Staff Responsibility for Japanese Legislation," Mar. 20, 1947.

[13] Whitney memo to Chief of Staff, Sept. 3, 1948.

[14] Sherwood Fine paper for General Matthew B. Ridgway, "Summary and Evaluation of Japan's Economic Recovery under the Occupation," Apr. 1952.

[15] MacArthur letter to Yoshida, Dec. 19, 1948.

crease or reject any items in the budget or to suggest new items," as set forth in SWNCC 228 of January 1946, the Chief of Staff searched for a compromise solution. Finally, in 1951, he ruled that amendments proposed by the Diet to the government's budget would be reviewed by ESS and cleared by GHQ "if they do not violate the SCAP's budgetary policy" and that "other legislative proposals . . . which contain budgetary implications [would] be cleared provided . . . appropriate budgetary measures have been assured."[16]

A concrete case will show how the two sections reacted to the Chief of Staff's decision. In February 1951 the cabinet submitted for GHQ clearance the Trust Fund Bureau Fund Bill, which had been prepared by the Finance Ministry to implement a recommendation made by ESS special consultant Joseph Dodge. GHQ clearance was promptly given, and the bill was introduced in the Diet. A month later GHQ received a proposed amendment to the measure from the Finance Committee of the House of Representatives. ESS rejected the amendment on the ground that it violated Dodge's recommendation. The Government Section referred the matter to the Chief of Staff, inviting attention to "excessively rigid control of the type which should no longer be exercised over the Japanese at this stage of the Occupation."[17] ESS countered by charging the Government Section with conducting

> a harassing campaign designed to break down resistance of responsible Occupation agencies to Japanese attempts to crack existing economic policy. . . . The concept that the Supreme Commander will permit the reversal of the economic stabilization accomplished in Japan through the investment of approximately $2 billion of U. S. funds in acceptance of the academic premise of liberalizing political freedom . . . would appear to be most tenuous.[18]

The Chief of Staff acted promptly to resolve the issue by reiterating that "amendments . . . [will] be cleared . . . if they do not violate the SCAP's budgetary policy."[19] This permitted Whitney to release the disputed amendment "for consideration by the Diet."[20]

While developing procedures to facilitate cooperation between Japan's bureaucracy and that of GHQ, the Government Section watched the progress toward democracy of Japan's first four governments under the new Constitution: Tetsu Katayama's, Hitoshi Ashida's, and Yoshida's second and

[16] Chief of Staff memo to ESS and the Government Section, Mar. 30, 1951.
[17] Whitney memo to Chief of Staff, Mar. 29, 1951.
[18] ESS memo to Chief of Staff, Mar. 31, 1951.
[19] Chief of Staff memo to ESS and Government Section, Mar. 31, 1951.
[20] Whitney memo to ESS, Apr. 1, 1951. From December 1947 to November 1951, GHQ processed 1,613 legislative bills prepared by the Japanese. Of these, 1,405 were approved and 208 disapproved. An additional 176 bills would have been disapproved had the Government Section not cleared them over the objections of various staff sections. (Feb. 2, 1952, legislative summary prepared by Helen Loeb.)

third. Had it not been for this concern, the unstable political condition under Katayama and Ashida in 1947 and 1948 might well have carried over into 1949 and 1950, casting doubt for years to come on the country's capacity for self-government. That this did not happen, that the government began to function in a responsible manner by 1949, was due essentially to the levelheadedness of the Japanese electorate, whose sentiments increasingly found expression in the conservative Democratic Liberal party; it was also due to the Government Section's persistent efforts to condition politicians to the unfamiliar requirements of popular rule.

In order to accomplish the main objectives of the occupation, conversion of those in power to the ways of self-government was no less essential than the new Constitution itself. Unless Japan's leaders could demonstrate both ability and willingness to operate the new system of government while the occupation was in progress, Japan's independence might be postponed indefinitely; in 1947 MacArthur and others conceived of United Nations supervision of the country for perhaps a generation.[21] The question, then, was how to develop democratic procedures in a relatively short period.

Government Section strategy was to achieve this end through the instrumentality of what was regarded as the progressive minority. This explains why Whitney and his staff were partial to the Katayama-Ashida-Takeo Miki coalition of Socialists, Democrats, and People's Democrats, which held the reins of power for some sixteen months in 1947–1948, and why these political parties were fortified by the full weight of MacArthur's prestige and popularity. It was not by accident that MacArthur pointedly characterized Katayama's selection as emphasizing "the 'middle of the road course' of Japanese internal politics."[22] When Katayama resigned as Premier in February 1948 rather than dissolve the House of Representatives and call for a parliamentary election, MacArthur commented, to the dismay of the Liberals, that the "action now being taken is in full accord with democratic procedure."[23] To counter the Liberal party's move to drive a wedge between factions of the coalition parties over the Katayama cabinet's proposed bill for temporary state control of coal mining, a Socialist measure, MacArthur wrote the Premier: "There is no objection to its presentation to the Diet for consideration on its merits, without prejudice of any kind from this headquarters."[24]

The Government Section also supported attempts by the progressive forces to question arbitrary practices of previous Japanese governments.

[21] *Nippon Times,* July 3, 1947; Borton, *Japan's Modern Century,* 421.
[22] *Political Reorientation,* II, Appendix F, 34.
[23] *Ibid.,* 44.
[24] *Ibid.,* Appendix E, 9.

One such attempt was in the form of a parliamentary investigation to expose big industrialists, *zaibatsu,* who had allegedly looted public property worth billions of yen between the surrender on August 14, 1945, and the arrival of the occupation forces two weeks later. In July 1947 the House of Representatives created a Special Committee for the Investigation of Concealed and Hoarded Goods, the first committee of investigation ever appointed by the Diet, to delve into the government's disposal and handling of these vast stores of supplies and materials. Because of inexperience, limited powers, and lack of funds, the committee made little headway during the first months of its existence. But, under a new resolution drafted by Kades and adopted by the House of Representatives in December 1947, the reconstituted Nonpartisan Special Committee on Irregular Property Transactions was empowered to "make full and complete investigation" of the looted war supplies, to subpoena witnesses, administer oaths, and take testimony, and to spend up to 250,000 yen provided from the House contingent fund.[25] William Costello, Columbia Broadcasting System's Tokyo representative, who carefully followed the work of this committee, found that it "had first irritated, then alarmed the *zaibatsu*." He agreed with the committee chairman who declared in 1948 after months of exhaustive hearings that "the moral support provided by this committee has encouraged procuratorial officials who otherwise might not have ventured to take action against powerful feudal forces."[26]

Directing the attention of a receptive Japanese public to deep-rooted practices that appeared to be inconsistent with the new democratic order was another Government Section method of assisting the reform elements. Perhaps the best example of this was the *oyabun-kobun* outcry engendered by Kades in the fall of 1947. Supported by a cross section of GHQ officials, he announced that "a hidden government" based on the *oyabun-kobun* (parent-child or leader-follower) relationship threatened to "wreck every effort to democratize this people."[27] When the excitement caused by the announcement died down, it was found that there did exist in fact "a formidable 'machine' made up of racketeers who are secretly tied up with certain politicians."[28]

But the Government Section's main strategy for influencing the course of events was to maintain in office the existing coalition of parties at least until the next parliamentary election became mandatory in the spring of 1951. Despite the fact that this unharmonious party grouping fell apart in

[25] *Ibid.,* I, 307–13; II, Appendix E, 10.
[26] William Costello, *Democracy vs Feudalism* (Tokyo, 1948), 164–76.
[27] *Nippon Times,* Nov. 23, 1947.
[28] *Ibid.,* Dec. 3, 1947.

October 1948 because of inexperience, dissension, and scandal, the Government Section sought, nevertheless, to shore it up again under the leadership of veteran Diet member Takeshi Yamazaki, Democratic Liberal party chief secretary, former Speaker of the House of Representatives, and a MacArthur favorite. Kades took appropriate steps to determine that the move was feasible. Dr. Ashida gave assurance of his support, and Yamazaki, encouraged by influential Democratic Liberals Jiro Hoshijima and Kikuichiro Yamaguchi, seized the opportunity to stand for Premier against the president of his party, Yoshida.[29] Then, only hours before the scheduled October 14 vote in the House of Representatives that would have made him chief of state, Yamazaki abruptly removed himself from contention by resigning his Diet membership. Later that day he explained to an official of the House secretariat:

> The very idea . . . of a party official competing with the head of the party for any position . . . is repugnant to the politicians and the people alike. . . . Rank and file members were convinced . . . that Mr. Yoshida, particularly after his 9 October conference in the Dai Ichi Building, was the choice of the Supreme Commander.[30]

Fully aware of the Government Section's covert support of Yamazaki, MacArthur, as befitted his position, took a neutral stance. In a ninety-minute interview on October 9 with Miki, People's Democratic party president, immediately following a shorter conference with Yoshida, the Supreme Commander significantly made no attempt to dissuade the coalition leader from supporting Yamazaki's candidacy.[31] Thus Yamazaki failed to be named Premier solely because he quit the race, and he quit because he had been deserted by his Democratic Liberal colleagues Hoshijima and Yamaguchi. The result was that Democratic Liberal party President Yoshida had outmaneuvered not only the coalition parties and the dissidents in his own party but GHQ as well.

It would be wrong, however, to conclude that Yoshida's victory weakened the will or the capacity of GHQ to keep the Japanese government on a democratic course. The supreme test of GHQ's firmness of mind was made in December 1948, some two months after Yoshida replaced Ashida as Premier. The minority Yoshida government was determined to dissolve the House of Representatives and hold a general election. Complicating an

[29] I served as go-between, first consulting Ashida alone and then Yamazaki, Hoshijima, and Yamaguchi together. All were enthusiastic about the project.

[30] Justin Williams memo to Whitney, Oct. 14, 1948.

[31] Miki's long stay in the Dai Ichi Building, combined with his refusal to divulge what he discussed with the Supreme Commander, "has caused more speculation among the present government parties and more uncertainty within the Democratic Liberal Party than any incident since the resignation of the [Ashida] Cabinet." (Williams memo to Whitney, Oct. 12, 1948.)

already tense and awkward situation was GHQ insistence that dissolution await Diet approval of six legislative bills, including the bill to amend the National Public Service Law, and a supplementary budget to provide, among other things, wage increases for government workers. Yoshida let it be known that upon passage of the six bills he would invoke the power of the Emperor under Article VII of the Constitution to dissolve the House, postponing consideration of the supplementary budget to a later date. As a result Socialist floor leader Inejiro Asanuma appealed frantically to Whitney for protection against Yoshida's intention "to operate under the Meiji Constitution," insisting that GHQ "take a stand on the wage issue . . . before dissolution of the House of Representatives." Enlisted to help the Socialists, Tokyo University President Shigeru Nambara saw no way out of the tangle "except for the House to defy the Cabinet by refusing to be dissolved even if Mr. Yoshida attempts to dissolve it under Article 7, a move which would place Japan in a state of revolution." His suggestion for saving the situation was to "prevent arbitrary dissolution of the House until the supplementary budget can be deliberated."[32] The date was November 26.

Next morning at 9:30 Whitney and Kades visited Yoshida at the Premier's official residence to inform him of MacArthur's desire that he "work out a compromise with the opposition parties." MacArthur's suggestion, Whitney said, was for the cabinet to present the controversial pay bill to the Diet "upon condition that, once the present program plus the pay bill is enacted into law, the opposition would raise no further barrier to the dissolution of the Diet by passing a resolution of non-confidence under Article 69 of the Constitution."[33] On this basis the issue was finally resolved.

Following the landslide of the Democratic Liberal party in January 1949 and the formation of the third Yoshida cabinet, GHQ braced for an expected heavy attack on occupation reforms. The new Premier, however, singled out for radical and immediate modification only two occupation programs, one of which was the purge. In February he asked MacArthur to depurge two men needed for economic posts; MacArthur replied: "It would not be within the proper scope of my authority to sanction purgees for Cabinet office without concurrence of the Far Eastern Commission which it would be quite impossible to secure."[34] Refusing to consider other requests by Yoshida for release of "suitable persons from the purge, on the result of which will depend . . . future political alignments in Japan,"[35] MacArthur told a June 1950 conference of GHQ section chiefs that "there

[32] Williams memos to Whitney, Nov. 8, 24, 26, 1948.
[33] Kades memo, Nov. 27, 1948.
[34] Yoshida letter to MacArthur, Feb. 2, 1949; MacArthur letter to Yoshida, Feb. 4, 1949.
[35] Yoshida letter to MacArthur, Aug. 9, 1949.

would be no relaxation" of the purge.[36] Not until the fourth anniversary of the new Constitution, May 3, 1951, when John Foster Dulles was far advanced with plans to restore Japan's independence, was the purge policy modified. On that date General Matthew B. Ridgway, the new Supreme Commander, authorized the Japanese government not to depurge anyone but "to review existing ordinances issued in implementation of directives from this headquarters."[37]

Yoshida also asked for changes in the reorganized police system to permit coordination of the various police branches and units and to "place them under unified control . . . for swift, vigorous and effective action."[38] MacArthur replied: "I do not believe that the failure of coordination between the national and local police units . . . is due to the manner of their organization or definition of their powers as provided by the law, but rather is a question of the proper education of the personalities involved."[39] The Police Reorganization Law remained intact for the duration of the occupation.

Efforts to direct the several Japanese governments along democratic lines coincided with the initiation by GHQ of projects to refine and enlarge areas of the previously implemented democratization program, particularly those areas related to political parties, civil service, elections, and local autonomy. In each instance new legislation was required.

The Government Section's project to have a political parties law enacted by the Diet is a good example of a debatable reform that in the end was wisely left to the discretion of the Japanese. Intended to "check the inordinate multiplication of so-called political parties in Japan,"[40] the political parties bill drafted by the Home Ministry at the request of a Government Section official pleased neither the Japanese people, the politicians, nor a majority of the Government Section's division chiefs. The matter was brought to a climax when veteran Representative Takao Saito told a September 1947 caucus of the Democratic party that popular support for a particular political party could not be prohibited by law and that no country had ever enacted a political party law. Following the Saito comments the Japanese press openly denounced the proposed bill, with the result that the

[36] Marcel Grilli, "Control of Antidemocratic Elements" (Jan. 1952), a chapter in the Government Section's unpublished "Political Reorientation of Japan, 1949–1952," 10.

[37] *Ibid.* At the close of the occupation there were still 8,710 purgees. (Hans H. Baerwald, *The Purge of Japanese Leaders under the Occupation* [Berkeley, Calif., 1959], 79.)

[38] Yoshida letter to MacArthur, Aug. 6, 1949.

[39] MacArthur letter to Yoshida, Aug. 8, 1949.

[40] P. K. Roest memo to Whitney, Nov. 25, 1946.

House of Representatives special committee on elections decided to replace it with election management and corrupt practices bills.[41]

The National Public Service Law of 1947 was amended as suggested by the Supreme Commander in his July 22, 1948, letter to Premier Ashida. Revision of this law did not, as some have supposed, indicate a shift in the emphasis of American policy toward Japan. It was not, as the Yamazaki affair of October 1948 demonstrated, a lessening of GHQ support for the democratically inclined elements of the population. Instead it was the product of a forthright move by public administration expert Blaine Hoover, chief of the Government Section's Civil Service Division, to bring the 1947 law up to date. Contemporary events, particularly the injurious effects of an almost continuous series of strikes and other labor dispute tactics by organized government employees of the railway, communications, salt, camphor, and tobacco monopolies, "gave practical demonstration of the importance of strengthening the provisions of the law."[42]

Hoover's draft revision of the law was vehemently opposed by ESS labor expert James Killen, who took issue with Hoover "on such questions as . . . the meaning of collective bargaining as applied to government workers, and the use of strikes or dispute tactics against the government."[43] Hoover rested his case on the position of Franklin D. Roosevelt, that "a strike of public employees . . . is unthinkable and intolerable" and that "the process of collective bargaining as usually understood, cannot be transplanted into the public service."[44] MacArthur, after studying the briefs of both men and listening to their oral arguments, decided in favor of Hoover, whose version was approved by the Diet in November 1948.

MacArthur consistently refrained from demanding that imperfections in Japan's esoteric election law be corrected. In his view the election law reflected "Japanese thought and Japanese initiative and as such, however imperfect, will stand impervious to the strains [of future] nationalistic pressures."[45] Japanese newspaper editors and GHQ officials alike bitterly complained, nevertheless, that the law infringed the rights of the candidates, the voters, and the press. To still the complaints, Whitney, in a mid-January 1949 meeting with representatives of GHQ's Information and Education Section, Japan's National Election Management Commission, the Attorney General's office, and National Rural Police Headquarters, advised

[41] Roest memo to Whitney, Jan. 15, 1947; C. P. Marcum memo, July 21, 1947; *Tokyo Shimbun*, Sept. 30, 1947; *Asahi Shimbun*, Nov. 9, 1947; *Jiji Press*, Nov. 14, 1947.
[42] *Political Reorientation*, I, 254, 258–59; letter of July 22, 1948, *ibid.*, II, Appendix B, 8c.
[43] *Ibid.*, I, 258.
[44] *Ibid.*, II, 582.
[45] Courtney Whitney, *MacArthur, His Rendezvous with History* (New York, 1955), 244.

the Japanese officials present to "construe all laws which you are called on to administer in the light of constitutional mandates . . . to insure preservation of individual liberties guaranteed by the Constitution."[46] Reflecting Whitney's advice, the National Election Management Commission announced that the "Constitution guarantees the press freedom to express opinion . . . [which] imposes . . . the obligation to perform its functions as a responsible medium of public information, at all times giving paramount importance to the promotion of the interests of the people."[47]

A year later, in January 1950, Whitney was again placed in the position of defending Japan's highly restrictive election law. But once more he held to MacArthur's opinion that "GHQ interference . . . might easily produce diametrically opposite results from those desired." Careful not to denigrate a set of election regulations that the Japanese regarded as a compact between political parties and factions to restrain iniquitous electioneering practices and to create a condition of relative equality between rich and poor candidates, he told members of the Special Election Law Committee of the House of Representatives that it was up to the Japanese people to correct defects in the law.[48] The Japanese draft of the Public Offices Election Bill became law in April 1950, ending attempts by GHQ officials to Americanize Japan's election system.

GHQ did not handle skillfully the local tax revision bill. Drafted by the Japanese government at the request of the Supreme Commander,[49] this measure, based on recommendations of a special United States study mission headed by Professor Carl Shoup, was designed to place the finances of local governments on a sound financial foundation. In September 1949 Premier Yoshida assured MacArthur that the taxation program as recommended would be submitted to the next Diet.[50] But no sooner had the local tax bill been negotiated with "quarters concerned"—euphemism for GHQ—than the Premier, sensing trouble ahead, made known his qualms in a prophetic March 18, 1950, letter to General MacArthur, which said:

> The . . . bill for revision of the Local Tax Law . . . will have a very hard going in the months ahead, what with the June election for the House of Councillors looming. . . . I would propose that the flat rate of 1.75 percent be enforced for the first half of 1950, and . . . be made a . . . [flexible] rate for the second half. . . . the measure I propose is economically sound as it is politically efficacious. . . .[51]

[46] Marcel Grilli, "Popular Elections" (Feb. 1952), a chapter in the Government Section's unpublished "Political Reorientation of Japan, 1949–1952," 16.
[47] *Ibid.*, 17.
[48] *Ibid.*, 18–19; Williams memo to Whitney, Dec. 6, 1949.
[49] MacArthur letter to Yoshida, Sept. 15, 1949.
[50] Yoshida letter to MacArthur, Sept. 16, 1949.
[51] Yoshida letter to MacArthur, Mar. 18, 1950.

MacArthur's reply, reflecting the position of ESS in which Whitney had been persuaded to concur, said: ". . . I am fully aware of the political problems posed by the tax reform program but . . . [Japan's] best interests . . . will be served by its enactment without modification in its major provisions."[52] On May 1, the day before the session closed, the House of Councillors defeated the local tax bill by a vote of 102 to 73.[53]

Faced with this unprecedented, unexpected, and highly embarrassing action by the legislative branch, an angry MacArthur summoned Whitney and General William F. Marquat, ESS chief, to explain what went wrong. They could only plead that many councilors, anticipating the June election, stood more in awe of their constituents than of a united GHQ. Aware that the bill's defeat resulted from GHQ's refusal to permit the Diet to amend it, MacArthur directed Whitney to prepare a statement defending the action of the House of Councillors and expressing confidence that "once the coming election is out of the way, the Diet will proceed . . . to discharge its . . . responsibility in implementation of this phase of the Economic Stabilization Program."[54]

At the beginning of the Eighth Extraordinary Diet in July, the local tax bill was resubmitted, but with a difference: whereas the provisions of the earlier version had been dictated by ESS, the new version was a compromise worked out, at MacArthur's request, by personal representatives of Whitney, Marquat, and Yoshida.[55] As a consequence, on July 22 the House of Representatives, after adopting amendments proposed by the People's Democratic party, passed the bill by a vote of 226 to 74, and nine days later the House of Councillors gave its approval by a vote of 145 to 82.[56]

Notwithstanding GHQ's strict and consistent adherence to United States policy as defined in the five papers mentioned above, the view prevails that the basic occupation objectives "underwent a series of very important changes" in 1947 and 1948, that Washington lost its enthusiasm for democratic reform and reversed its original position on economic rehabilitation. The supposition is that these changes were products of the cold war, made to meet a desperate need of the US for a Far Eastern ally to replace the sinking republic of China, and that in making them America forsook the

[52] MacArthur letter to Yoshida, Mar. 21, 1950.
[53] Williams, "Diet Report" No. 60 (7), May 1, 1950.
[54] MacArthur press release, May 3, 1950. Rizzo and I also attended the MacArthur meeting with Whitney and Marquat.
[55] Yoshida was represented by Eisaku Sato, Marquat by Harold Moss, and Whitney by me.
[56] Williams, "Diet Report" No. 27 (8), July 24, 1950; No. 37 (8), July 31, 1950.

Japanese progressive elements and opportunistically embraced those who had previously been regarded as reactionary.[57]

Let us consider the last point first. Those who assume that there was a "sharp fall-off in the 'revolutionary' content of SCAP activities"[58] overlook the fact, as previously explained, that in the fall of 1948 GHQ, in defiance of strong Japanese opinion, tried to deny power to the conservatives by setting up a Yamazaki coalition government of Socialists, Democrats, People's Democrats, and renegade Democratic Liberals. They also forget that the occupation leaders, well aware of the inherent weaknesses of the Katayama and Ashida governments, could not prevent the overwhelming victory of the Democratic Liberal party in the January 1949 parliamentary election and that the Japanese electorate, not GHQ, repudiated the coalition parties. They fail to appreciate, furthermore, that, just as GHQ in 1946 persuaded the first Yoshida government to adopt a democratic constitution, in 1949 it might persuade the third Yoshida government to make the democratic system work. The record of democratic Japan's progress under conservative governments from 1949 to the present time speaks for itself.

But there is some evidence to support the contention that American occupation objectives underwent a change in 1947–1948 in response to the cold war. The National Security Council, for instance, decided in November 1948 that "Japan was to be strengthened economically and socially. . . . SCAP was to shift responsibilities as rapidly as possible to the Japanese, and SCAP personnel would be reduced; a 150,000-man national police force was to be organized. . . ."[59] About a year later GHQ was able to report that during 1949 the prefectural civil affairs teams had been withdrawn and occupation controls steadily relaxed.[60]

There was a wide disparity, however, between these communications of Washington and GHQ and what actually transpired in Japan. There was not, as some have concluded, a "markedly reduced scale of intervention by SCAP in internal affairs."[61] On the contrary, with enforcement of Washington's economic stabilization directive, GHQ's control over the cabinet and

[57] See Ward, "Legacy of the Occupation," 29–56. The Washington background of the policy changes is fully explained in George F. Kennan, *Memoirs: 1925–1950* (Boston, 1967), 368–96. Although Kennan, who was director of the Policy Planning Staff of the Department of State in 1947–1948, considers his part in reshaping occupation policy for Japan to have been, after the Marshall Plan, "the most significant constructive contribution [he] was ever able to make in government," he writes frankly: "How, at what stages, and in what degree these decisions finally found realization in the actions and practices of SCAP, I cannot tell" (pp. 392–93).

[58] Ward, "Legacy of the Occupation," 32.

[59] Dunn, *Peace-Making and the Settlement with Japan*, 77.

[60] GHQ, SCAP, *Organization and Activities* (Tokyo, 1950), 95.

[61] Borton, *Japan's Modern Century*, 431.

Diet became more rigid than before. And instead of the military organization of 150,000 men contemplated "to build Japan into an effective ally against Soviet expansion,"[62] a force of 75,000 was created in July 1950, soon after the outbreak of the Korean War, to guard against Communist subversion in Japan. "We never intended to use Japan as an ally," MacArthur declared.[63]

GHQ did indeed ameliorate the severity of the *zaibatsu* dissolution program, but not as a cold war measure within the framework of the National Security Council's decision. This concession resulted directly from opposition of powerful US business interests to enforcement of the 1945 JCS-1380/15 provision for dissolving "large Japanese industrial and banking combines." That the same United States business interests tried but failed to rescue even one Japanese industrial tycoon from the economic purge rules out the cold war as the dominant factor in actions involving the *zaibatsu*.[64]

Nor was the economic stabilization program instituted primarily as a cold war measure; rather it was to further Japan's democratization and to reduce the cost to the American taxpayer of supporting the Japanese population.[65] By assigning a higher priority to economic recovery in late 1948, Washington merely lent greater support to what GHQ had been striving to accomplish under JCS-1380/15; Washington's contribution was to make available the additional funding requested by GHQ to prime Japan's economic pump.[66] Only in connection with developments in the Korean War in 1950 was GHQ action taken in direct consequence of the cold war rather than out of consideration for Japan's democratization or America's pocketbook.

To be precise, two major occupation moves were directly traceable to the rising tide of Communism. One of these was the purge of the Japanese Communist party Central Committee and the top staff of the *Akahata* [Red Flag] newspaper in June 1950.[67] The other, previously mentioned, was establishment of Japan's National Police Reserve of 75,000 men in July of

[62] Dunn, *Peace-Making and the Settlement with Japan*, 67–68.

[63] *Ibid.*, 191–92, quoting New York *Times*, Mar. 2, 1949.

[64] In September 1947 American businessman James Lee Kauffman circulated in Tokyo his twenty-three-page "Report on Conditions in Japan," which reflected the thinking of influential American and Japanese business interests. The paper recommended replacing "the theorists now there [in GHQ] with men of ability and experience." In January 1948 it was reproduced and widely distributed by the Japanese Ministry of Finance. In May 1948 GHQ relaxed the anti-*zaibatsu* program.

[65] Dunn, *Peace-Making and the Settlement with Japan*, 76.

[66] A November 1948 ESS report estimated that US appropriations of $1,400,000,000.00 in fiscal years 1949–1952 would probably put Japan back on its feet. Congress appropriated $497,000,000.00 in 1949, an increase of $164,000,000.00 over 1948, and $425,000,000.00 in 1950.

[67] On June 6, 1950, MacArthur directed Premier Yoshida to purge the Communist party leaders; on June 7 instructions were given for the purge of the *Akahata* staff.

that year.[68] The first action was provoked by the increasingly ruthless tactics of the Japanese Communists, including sabotage, violence, and even murder, on the eve of North Korea's invasion of South Korea in June, while the second was required to fill the gap created by the shift of US occupation troops to the fighting front in Korea. Directly involved in both instances was the national security of the United States, stemming from the internal and external threat to Japan. But these acts affected in no way America's single-minded purpose to complete Japan's political reorientation.

Two conclusions may be drawn from these pages. First, America's unilateral occupation policy for Japan was clear and consistent. Neither Washington nor GHQ in Tokyo ever deviated from the fixed purpose of the US, dating from December 7, 1941, to transform Japan from an authoritarian state into a Western-style democracy. While carrying out the assigned task, American leaders on both sides of the Pacific became sensitive to burdensome occupation costs, the Soviet design for setting up a "people's republic" in Japan, and our former enemy's potential as a future friend and ally in the Far East. But they never dreamed of settling for anything less than the "peaceful and responsible government" called for in the Potsdam Declaration.

The second conclusion is that the occupation period after mid-1947 was extremely important, probably crucial to the accomplishment of the occupation mission. These five years afforded ample opportunity for a cross section of Japanese leaders, with American assistance, to test and modify the exotic democratic structure while establishing a sound economy. By demonstrating to the highly critical Allied Powers their commitment to self-rule, the Japanese people regained full sovereignty in 1952, thus avoiding a protracted period of United Nations supervision.

[68] On July 8, 1950, the Supreme Commander authorized the establishment of a National Police Reserve of 75,000 men and an expansion of 8,000 men serving the Maritime Safety Board.

Reviews of Books

General

INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES. Volume XXXIII, 1964, including some publications of previous years. Edited with the contribution of the national committees by *Michel François* and *Nicolas Tolu* for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Lausanne. [Published with the assistance of UNESCO, and under the patronage of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1967. Pp. xxviii, 508.)

The new volume of this well-established work brings together some eight thousand references supplied by various national representatives from titles that have appeared in their respective countries. Since most of these references are then distributed among various subject (rather than area) headings, it is difficult to arrive at an over-all evaluation of these contributions. The following samples might provide some insight.

Of the forty books with a US imprint that received a major review in the January 1965 issue of the *AHR,* thirty-eight are listed, while the other two, previously published in Europe, are excluded. By comparison, a check of forty-three major West German books revealed only thirty as being included. Five of those not listed are autobiographies of leading personalities. But out of twenty prominent East German monographs only eleven are included. Notable omissions are Doernberg's *Kurze Geschichte der DDR, Der Stralsunder Liber memorialis,* Thomas' *Entscheidung in Berlin,* and Wick's study on Mecklenburg absolutism. A similar breakdown of thirty-six major articles in the field of German history shows only eight out of twenty-two West German and one out of five East German ones listed, while the four from American journals are all included, but the five from other countries are omitted.

These samples show clearly the quality of the US contribution, but also the unevenness of the general coverage, a failing that is to some extent unavoidable. This problem is compounded by the cumbersome arrangement of most entries by subject, rather than by area. The usefulness of this work could be vastly improved if as many titles as possible would be divided into major periods, further broken down into countries, and then arranged chronologically within each of the geographic areas. Such a scheme would not only reduce the often unbalanced and haphazard distribution of entries; it would also, by abandoning a system patterned after other disciplines, result in a methodological approach more suitable for historical research.

Special features of this bibliography include a list of symposia, the listing of single volumes of multivolume works, and a useful index of authors and persons, as well as an index of place names. An index of entries listed by title only would also be helpful.

The prompt appearance of this bibliography is a welcome addition to the field of historical bibliography and a monument to international cooperation and to the skill of the editors.

Library of Congress ARNOLD H. PRICE

ORAL HISTORY AT ARROWHEAD: THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST NATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ON ORAL HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA CONFERENCE CENTER, LAKE ARROWHEAD, CALIFORNIA, SEPTEMBER 25–28, 1966. Edited by *Elizabeth I. Dixon* and *James V. Mink*. (Los Angeles: Oral History Association. 1967. Pp. ix, 126. $1.50.)

THIS volume is a verbatim record of what was said by those participating in this colloquium. There was comparatively little in the nature of sustained, systematic analysis of the subject under discussion. Apart from some prepared statements that seem to be somewhat in the nature of indoctrination or orientation lectures for newcomers to "oral history," this record of the discussions chiefly indicates the doubts and fears that currently beset the practitioners in this field, if, indeed, it has crystallized sufficiently to be called a field. Those who now call themselves oral historians obviously have many worries about the nature and validity of what they are doing. Reading these introspections and self-questionings, one is reminded of an adolescent peering into a mirror, worrying about what he sees there, and asking himself, "What am I?" "Why am I not better known and more popular with my fellows?" and "Where will I be ten years from now?"

There is reason for the concern about identity. During the meetings, the director of the Oral History Research Office of Columbia University spoke of the desirability of building a fence around the field of oral history. The need for a fence is shown in a report published some time ago by his office, a report that includes, among a list of oral history collections in the United States, a collection of tape recordings of folk music, tape recordings of symposia on the neurosciences, and tape recordings of discussions of Spanish literature. Apparently it is not the content but the recording medium that is the test.

The rehashing of the questions discussed at this meeting is still going on, but oral historians should proceed with their job, which is, in my opinion, valuable and important. They will need to cultivate patience, acquire self-assurance, and be content to leave the proof of their pudding to the scholars who are its ultimate consumers.

National Archives HERMAN KAHN

TRACES ON THE RHODIAN SHORE: NATURE AND CULTURE IN WESTERN THOUGHT FROM ANCIENT TIMES TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *Clarence J. Glacken*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. xxviii, 763. $15.00.)

A BOOK of this broad scope, which deals with ideas about "nature and culture," could only have been written by a man who had read widely for years in

many fields of knowledge—theology, philosophy, and literature, as well as the sciences. Surprisingly, the author is not a professional historian but a geographer who has done, among other things, a study of Okinawan village life. As befits a former student of Frederick Teggart at California, he has, nevertheless, conceived his field in the broadest possible context, and he has become, in fact if not by professional calling, a historian of ideas.

In this volume Professor Glacken concerns himself specifically with Western ideas about "man's place in nature" ("nature" in the sense of the habitable earth), or the relationship between human culture and the physical environment. He contends that three ideas in particular dominated discussion of the subject until the end of the eighteenth century. The first, the idea of a designed earth, centered on God; the other two centered, respectively, on nature and man. God created nature for man's benefit and put man at the apex of a chain of being that included all creatures. In this well-known teleological, and holistic, conception man was thought to be superior to, yet not really separated from, nature. The second, or environmentalist, idea stressed the influence of the natural environment (climate, terrain, and so forth) on man, thereby accenting the strength and power of nature. The breach between man and nature was further widened by the third idea that featured man as the modifier of nature. Glacken makes it clear that these ideas were by no means mutually exclusive; indeed they were frequently combined, yet they also had separate histories. The first two flourished in antiquity and the Christian Middle Ages. As might be guessed, however, a fully developed consciousness of the control of nature by man came only in "Early Modern Times," with the work of men like Francis Bacon and Count Buffon. The chapter on Buffon and "The Epoch of Man," by the way, is as good, and perhaps as original, as anything in the book.

"A historian of ideas," says the author, "must go where his nose leads him, and if often leads him into chilly but not inhospitable regions whose borders are patrolled by men who know every square foot of it." Specialists may, will, and perhaps should carp at some sections of this book. My advice to them, however, is to read it, for I believe it can help them, as it helped me, to see new ways of structuring ideas about nature, and possibly to impart some new insights even inside the borders they so assiduously patrol. The author has not been content to consult other people's books; he has read widely in the original sources to form his own views.

Yale University FRANKLIN L. BAUMER

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS. By *Charles Van Doren.* [Concepts in Western Thought Series, Institute for Philosophical Research.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. xvii, 497. $7.95.)

The Idea of Progress is the second publication in a series of studies of "basic ideas" in Western thought undertaken by the Institute for Philosophical Research. Like *The Idea of Freedom,* already published, this is a cooperative work. The research was done by the institute's staff; the text was written by Professor

Van Doren in close consultation with the staff. The study proceeds on the assumption "that the issues in the field of any basic philosophic idea concern matters about which objective truth is ascertainable" and that organization of "differing opinions into an orderly set of clearly defined points of agreement and disagreement" will further the "future resolution of these issues."

Scores of social theorists from Plato to Karl Popper are analyzed and neatly classified as to whether they see progress, regress, or cycles or deny pattern in history, what they consider to be the characteristics of progress, and in what areas it operates. The institute's study, Mortimer Adler writes in the foreword, is neither philosophical in aim, undertaking to develop or defend a theory of progress, nor historical; rather, it seeks "the dialectical clarification of the idea." To achieve this, the study "deliberately abstracts [the documents] from their historical context and pattern [and] views them as if they were all contemporary—as if the documents represented the voices of participants confronting one another in actual discussion." We may question, however, whether this can be done. The thought of great thinkers is always complex and undergoes development. To abstract such thought from its historical context necessarily oversimplifies and mutilates it. "The dialectical clarification of the idea" desired by Adler can perhaps be approximated abstractly through a theoretical examination of the idea, or it may be approached historically through a critical study of the development of the idea in the concrete "dialectical" confrontation of important thinkers in their historical setting with the men with whom they stood in direct dialogue. Failing to do either, the book becomes little more than an ordered catalogue of conflicting opinions, and we come no closer to a definition of the idea of progress. We may argue, moreover, with many of the classifications: whether, for instance, Marx belongs in a list of authors for whom progress will "plateau out" while Comte does not. In addition, too many men have been examined on the basis of too few of their writings. Jaspers, we are told, denies all pattern in history, but his *The Origin and Goal of History* is not even mentioned; Saint-Simon is analyzed on the basis of one work falsely ascribed to him. The book is, nevertheless, a valuable contribution to the literature on the idea of progress. No other work has discussed as many thinkers or attempted as systematic a presentation of arguments used in the literature.

State University of New York, Buffalo GEORG G. IGGERS

CLOCKS AND CULTURE, 1300–1700. By *Carlo M. Cipolla.* (London: Collins. 1967. Pp. 191. 30*s*.)

THIS volume consists of two chapters, on "The European Masters" and "Chinese Mandarins and the Self-Ringing Bell," a prologue, an epilogue, a brief appendix on the mechanism of clocks, a bibliography, and a section of notes. Professor Cipolla has given the reader not only a capsulated history of horology covering a period of four hundred years but also a most readable account of the influence of the clock on the life of the centuries covered.

The author has made good use of recent published research in horological

history to produce a social history of the clock in first the Western and then the Eastern worlds, showing its evolution from mechanical toy for the wealthy amateur to status symbol for man and community, and, finally, its recognition as a measurer of time. As a timepiece it slowly but surely changed man's thinking and way of life, creating new needs and problems associated with the requirement for precision measurement that resulted from man's increasing awareness of time. In tracing the evolution, production, and marketing of the clock against a background of European economic and technological history, this amazingly comprehensive work provides new insights and is written with wit and brilliance. It has brought a new, fresh dimension to horological history, treating it from a historian's rather than a collector's viewpoint.

The clock was selected as the subject for this work because it represents the prototype of all precision instruments, which became such a significant factor in European industrial development. The present work is somewhat similar to Cipolla's earlier volume on *Guns and Sails in the Early Phase of European Expansion 1400–1700* (1966) and in effect supplements the former, with clocks replacing guns and sails.

While many useful works about clocks and watches have been produced since World War II, a comprehensive history of horology remains to be written. Such a monumental project cannot be undertaken until further research on numerous aspects of the evolution of the clockwork has been done. When the comprehensive history of horology is written, however, it must acknowledge the new insights first presented by Cipolla in this book.

Smithsonian Institution SILVIO A. BEDINI

ENLIGHTENED DESPOTISM. By *John G. Gagliardo.* [Europe since 1500.] (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1967. Pp. ix, 118. $1.95.)

ONE should not be misled by the brevity of this compact volume, or by the publisher's stated intention to provide material for classroom use. As promised in the author's preface, this is truly a work of synthesis, and a much-needed one, uniting hitherto scattered views of "Enlightened Despotism" to form a coherent and meaningful interpretation of monarchical practice in the more autocratic continental European states between 1760 and 1790 and assessing cautiously the relationship of this practice to the philosophy of the Enlightenment. The reforms of the monarchs are stressed, with foreign affairs entirely omitted.

Of the work's four sections, the first constitutes an admirable sketch of the Enlightenment itself, in its context of secularizing trends since the Middle Ages. Tolerance, intellectual confidence, an emphasis upon reason and nature, morality and utility—these are emphasized, while the relative inattention of the popular philosophers to political matters and their lack of "any comprehensive set of final reform goals" are noted. The second and longest section summarizes topically the reforms of the monarchs, first in government and administration (here alone the author's organization is by individual countries), and then in economic and fiscal, religious, legal and judicial, educational, and social areas.

The following section, "The Interpretation of Reform," introduces the author's central contention: that, however great the individual rulers' enlightenment and humanitarian benevolence, the overwhelming goals of monarchical rule in this period were "the strength and unity of the state as a military-economic unit and the preservation of the political integrity of monarchical absolutism." In the final section the author seeks to demonstrate that one can indeed speak of "Enlightened Despotism" as a distinct epoch, not only because of universally causative military and economic pressures, but also because of its general spirit, its theoretical justification, and its actual achievement. The enlightened despots created the modern state machinery that would eventually render the autocratic monarch superfluous.

For a thesis such as Gagliardo's to be fully persuasive, a longer work than this would, it is hoped, include fuller documentation, more attention to the role of ministers and bureaucrats, and further psychological investigation of the impact of contemporary ideas in individual cases. But, as it stands, Gagliardo's book is, at the very least, a model of conciseness, expressive writing, good sense, and up-to-date scholarship.

Southern Illinois University HENRY VYVERBERG

ORIGINS OF MODERN PSYCHIATRY. By *Ernest Harms*. With a foreword by *Francis J. Braceland*. (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas Publisher. 1967. Pp. xiv, 256. $7.75.)

THIS book exudes the indignation of its author over the gaps that he has found in the published history of his field. A second book would be required, he states, "to correct page by page the mistakes and false quotations to be found in some of the major historical works published during the past quarter of a century." With few exceptions (twice for Gregory Zilboorg) he mentions no specific authors.

The major portion of the book is a series of essays, some originally presented in professional journals, on neglected pioneers in psychiatry, beginning with Paracelsus. Dr. Harms's "forgotten giant" of the twentieth century is William Alanson White, whose concepts, he says, were appropriated "without any mention of this" by William Stack Sullivan. For his chapter on Benjamin Rush the author abandons temporarily the "forgotten pioneer" theme; he believes that in the controversy over Rush's importance "the negative far surpasses the positive evaluation."

Despite the introductory statement of a unifying theme ("the humanitarian approach"), these chapters may seem disjointed to the reader who lacks a thorough familiarity with the published history of the field. In a brief section on child psychiatry, on the other hand, Harms provides "a bird's eye historical view" that gives a background for his overlooked pioneers. As a therapist who has produced several books on child psychiatry and as editor of *Adolescence*, he is particularly qualified to deal with this area of his subject.

Of greatest general interest are the sections on Freud and on the relationship between Freud and Jung. The author vigorously attacks the "Freud mythologists,"

who, he writes, "actually minimize the stature of their master." He denies that Freud ever belonged to Wilhelm Fliess's periodicity school, that his early neurological work was a mere "venture," or that only "commercial impulse" led him to translate Charcot's major work. Although convinced that Freud "erred basically" on important points, Harms feels impelled to emphasize "the logical trend in Freud's thinking, especially in this early period."

In view of the fact that the author worked for Jung over a period of years, the material on the relationship between Freud and Jung may be regarded as a primary source. Evidence for the author's conviction that Jung was never actually a "pupil" of Freud is persuasive, as is also the evaluation of the factors in the break between the two. The explanation of Jung's statements during the Nazi period merits careful consideration.

Perhaps impatience to produce a correction of the record in book form made the author oblivious to such mundane matters as organization, transitions, and documentation. Evidence of haste is clear: insufficient documentation (page numbers!), illogical chapter placement, occasional misprints, and an inadequate index. For these flaws the editor must share responsibility with the author. They are particularly unfortunate in this case of a dedicated scholar whose book undoubtedly, as Francis J. Braceland predicts in his enthusiastic foreword, "will have to be considered in all subsequent historical examinations of psychiatry."

Montgomery Junior College MARY R. DEARING

LE XVII[e] SIÈCLE. By *François Lebrun.* [Collection U, Series "Histoire moderne."] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1967. Pp. 377. 28 fr.)

DESPITE the author's courage in keeping Louis XIV from the center of the stage, this history of the seventeenth century is disappointing. Lebrun is quite aware of the trend toward universal history, and in his preface he admits to a global view of the epoch. In practice, however, his orientation is West European. While 30 pages of 350 treat the Americas, Africa, and Asia, Poland and Russia are disposed of in 6.

As an account of West European developments, the volume falls short. Except for France, Lebrun simply is not in command of the recent literature. His chapters on England, for example, owe nearly everything to Gardiner and Trevelyan. One may pardon a nonspecialist for failing to be up on the latest storm over the gentry, but a historian who in 1967 devotes the better part of two long chapters to the England of the Stuarts, Cromwell, and William III should be aware of, if not influenced by, the important researches of Professors Tawney, Trevor-Roper, Stone, Hill, and Aylmer. The kinds of problems Lebrun prefers are straight political. Thus his approach seems to have but one dimension. He says little about economic trends, his intellectual history is sketchy, and he virtually ignores the comparative techniques tested so fruitfully in the "general crisis" debates that have enlivened the pages of *Past and Present* over the past decade.

Lebrun is most effective when treating France and diplomatic history. Here

his selection of illustrative sources, the unifying feature of the series in which his volume appears, is imaginative. Nevertheless, for an interpretation built upon convincing scholarship and genuine reflection that approaches most closely that unrealizable ideal of "histoire totale," the essential work is still that of Professor Mousnier.

University of Oregon RAYMOND BIRN

STATESMEN AND STATECRAFT OF THE MODERN WEST: ESSAYS IN HONOR OF DWIGHT E. LEE AND H. DONALDSON JORDAN. Edited by *Gerald N. Grob.* (Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishers. 1967. Pp. x, 290. $7.50.)

As Sherman J. Hayden says in an affectionate introductory note to this volume, the distinguished teachers to whom it is a tribute "tended the tree of history and transmitted the fruits of it for almost forty years" and during much of that period directed the department of history at Clark University and gave it a distinctive form and tradition. The essays in this interesting book reflect both the scope and the emphasis of Professor Lee's and Professor Jordan's research interests, dealing as they do with both Europe and North America in the period from the eighteenth century to the present and focusing for the most part on problems of international relations.

The most substantial essay is Marc Raeff's article on the policy of G. A. Potemkin, minister and lover of Catherine II, president of her council of war, colonizer of the Crimea, Abkhazia, and Khabardinia, and conqueror of Ochakov; Raeff has skillfully delineated the fundamental ambivalence that prevented Potemkin's attempts at modernization and rationalization from having lasting effect. Potemkin, he says, "combined 'rationality' and utopianism with a 'romantic' urge to accomplish the impossible. He behaved almost like an old-fashioned patrimonial ruler, and at the same time he was the executive arm of a centralized, modern bureaucratic state. All these paradoxes impart a peculiar flavor to Potemkin's political style and go a long way in explaining his unquestionable successes, as well as his failures."

Elsewhere in the volume, Samuel Osgood's essay on "The Third Republic in Historical Perspective" is an elaboration of Bertrand Jouvenel's remark: "France is a happy land . . . where politics is a matter of individual taste and not the condition of man's life." Osgood feels that too much significance has been attached to France's prewar domestic crises, and he argues, a bit too insistently, that in the end "the Third Republic was much more the victim of circumstances beyond its control than its own very real shortcomings." Walter Inman and Elmer Plischke have, respectively, written succinct reviews of the careers of Lord Rosebery and Konrad Adenauer without, however, raising any new problems. John Glennon's essay on the unconditional surrender policy makes the point that, once announced, it was impossible to abandon or modify and that it became, indeed, the cement that held the alliance together. John Foster Dulles comes off with a rather too clean bill of health in Carey B. Joynt's essay on the Suez crisis, although it must be said that Anthony Nutting's

recent revelations support his point that there was probably nothing that Dulles could have done to prevent Eden from acting as, in the end, he did. Eugene Miller's article on "Canada's Role in the Origin of NATO" is a useful reminder that our Allies did not always merely follow Washington's lead in the evolution of the postwar security system.

Editorially, the volume leaves much to be desired. There are many typographical errors, some in titles, and Rosebery suffers the posthumous indignity of having his name spelled three different ways. Most articles are supplied with notes, but one has only a "selected bibliography," which the others lack. There are no index and no editorial introduction to explain the relationship of the authors to Lee and Jordan or, for that matter, to Clark University.

Stanford University GORDON A. CRAIG

ACROSS THE PACIFIC: AN INNER HISTORY OF AMERICAN–EAST ASIAN RELATIONS. By *Akira Iriye*. Introduction by *John K. Fairbank*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1967. Pp. xvii, 361. $8.50.)

IN this careful study Dr. Iriye has written an *Inner History of American-East Asian Relations* in the sense that he emphasizes the changing images of China and Japan in the United States and of Americans in China and Japan over the past century. The images described and appraised are both governmental and in the public mind. Thus he is not primarily concerned with an analysis of foreign policy as such, although he adequately describes it in its changing phases, skillfully relating policy to attitudes and images.

Professor Fairbank's introduction tells the reader enough about the training and background of the author to demonstrate his unusual qualifications for the writing of such a study and to inspire confidence in his scholarship. A review of the appended bibliography enhances this confidence, as, indeed, does the objectivity with which Iriye writes. Because of the unusual approach, Fairbank states, "This book raises more questions than it settles." For this reason, as well as because of its content, it deserves careful study by scholars in the field as well as by the general reader.

In the first three sections, concluding with Chapter x on "Postwar Sino-American Relations," Iriye develops and supports his view that "American-Asian contact from the beginning has been fraught with romantic images, distortions, wishful thinking, irrelevant generalizations, and logical inconsistencies." From this has come the present military confrontation of China and the United States that, "Grim as it is" to the author, "seems much more conducive to realistic appraisal on both sides than any previous phase of relations." This is because both the "rhetoric of friendship and the dogma of communism have been replaced by cool appraisals of each other's power position in Asian politics." In other words the United States, as well as China and Japan, has begun to base its policy not on images of the others but on an appraisal of national interest and national security considerations. The author finds, however, that the military confrontation simplifies but does not actually solve the problem of American-East Asian relations. The solution, he feels, lies in the development

of a common language of communication. "Only when American-East Asian relations are seen as an intellectual problem . . . will it be possible to transcend the past and look toward a more peaceful Pacific."

University of Cincinnati HAROLD M. VINACKE

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By *Caroline F. Ware et al.* [History of Mankind. Cultural and Scientific Development, Volume VI. Prepared under the auspices and with financial assistance of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.] (New York: Harper and Row for the International Commission for a History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind. 1966. Pp. liii, 1387. $18.50.)

THIS massive work is a political product, and, as such, is the very opposite of what these UNESCO volumes were originally intended to be. What has emerged from the crosscurrents of collaborative authorship is not the refined gold of historical truth, shining in magnificent purity and purged of error and bias through the devoted efforts of keen and critical experts who were appointed by their governments for the task. Instead we have an unwieldy, uneven book in which the authors resolutely straddled or avoided every important issue and still provoked an unremitting drumfire of dissent from the official experts who read and, particularly in the Russian case, disapproved of what had been written.

Some chapters are well written and were informative to me. J. Bronowski's chapter on "New Scientific Thought and Its Impact" fell into this category; so did the chapters on religion and on education. Perhaps other readers, with different backgrounds, will find other chapters freshly informative and therefore useful. The photographs of modern art, juxtaposing Western work with twentieth-century Asian and African painting and sculpture, are also an interesting reminder of the stylistic variety of artistic output in our time.

Scope and design are ambitious. After more than a one-hundred-page introduction dealing with politics and society in general, the book devotes Part I to science and its applications; Part II to social institutions and their changes; Part III to "The Self-Image and Aspirations of the Peoples of the World"; and Part IV to the arts. Parts III and IV are comparatively brief and often superficial. The authors seem to have lacked any very clear criterion for inclusion and exclusion, unless it was to award equal wordage to the cultural achievements of equally powerful members of UNESCO, and to scale down remarks about other parts of the world in proportion.

No such problem haunts the account of twentieth-century science and technology. Here landmarks were world landmarks, and achievements occurred in a sequence that usually had an inner logic of its own. But in Part I long catalogues of technological firsts and organizational advances make for dullness; in Part II the authors try so hard to be both inoffensive and inclusive in their remarks about social institutions as to become banal more often than enlightening.

As a whole, the volume is dull and lacks coherence. This is a disappointing,

though not surprising, upshot after years of work involving dozens of committees and literally hundreds of scholars.

University of Chicago WILLIAM H. MCNEILL

SOVIET RUSSIA AND ASIA, 1917–1927: A STUDY OF SOVIET POLICY TOWARDS TURKEY, IRAN AND AFGHANISTAN. By *Harish Kapur.* (New York: Humanities Press. 1967. Pp. 265. $8.50.)

MR. Kapur has written a valuable account of Soviet foreign policy in Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan for the years 1917–1927. The thesis is familiar: almost from its inception Soviet foreign policy served the interests of the Soviet state rather than the interests of world revolution. Kapur, however, is convincing in his argument that Soviet leaders believed that there was no basic conflict between these two purposes. The author argues that the main Soviet objective in policy toward Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan was denial of these areas to British influence rather than the promotion of revolution. Soviet policy toward India and China was different, however, since it was directed toward establishing their independence. To this end the Soviet Union directed the Communist parties to cooperate with the national bourgeoisie at very heavy cost to the latter, especially in China. Reading these pages, one is struck by the similarity of Soviet strategy and tactics some thirty years later when active interest in newly independent countries was revived.

The major contribution of the study is in the use of newly available source materials. The Soviet series on foreign policy and both Turkish and Indian memoir materials are very effectively exploited to give a much clearer picture of events than has been hitherto available. For example, the importance of having Armenia under Soviet control to ensure the transmission of military aid to Turkey in 1920 is conclusively demonstrated.

Kapur is refreshingly candid in revealing that before he undertook his research he expected to "prove that Soviet policy in Asia, in accordance with general Marxist theory, was essentially devoted to the task of bringing about communist revolutions in other countries." His research made him a convert to the thesis expressed in the book, but, unlike many converts, he presents his new beliefs with simultaneous detachment and empathy.

Washington, D. C. HERBERT S. DINERSTEIN

RÜSTUNGSHILFE DER USA AN DIE VERBÜNDETEN IM ZWEITEN WELTKRIEG. By *Wolfgang Schlauch.* [Beiträge zur Wehrforschung, Number 13.] (Darmstadt: Wehr und Wissen Verlagsgesellschaft MBH. 1967. Pp. 163.)

THIS doctoral dissertation was begun under the sponsorship of Professor Arnold Bergstraesser in 1962 and was taken over after his death by Professor Oberndörfer. It is published in a series of military studies that include such diverse subjects as *Catastrophe in Rumania, 1944,* and *The Troops of Hesse-Cassel in*

the American War of Independence, 1776–1783. It is the author's purpose to recount and investigate the significance of American aid to its Allies in World War II. His theme is that decisive for the defeat of the Axis was not only the active participation of the United States in the war but also the immense size and quality of American assistance to its Allies.

The first part concerns the domestic political situation in the United States and the clash between President Roosevelt and Congress over increased American involvement in world politics. The author feels that the American retreat from isolation was based on Roosevelt's "strong leadership" and his "realistic evaluation of the world political situation." Roosevelt's dynamic intervention policy led to lend-lease, an important boundary in the history of American politics.

The second part of the work concerns the practical accomplishments of lend-lease to Great Britain, the recipient of most aid. The idea was "to protect the national security of the United States against the expansion of the totalitarian powers without the United States taking a direct role in the war itself." But the transport and delivery really meant a military engagement. It was precisely because of lend-lease that American neutrality vanished before the official entry into the war.

In the third section of the book American help in armaments and lend-lease for the Soviet Union are examined. In contrast to lend-lease for Britain, the inclusion of the Soviet Union in the lend-lease system indicated that strategic necessity came before political and ideological considerations. To fight the totalitarian states, which endangered the very foundations of democracy, the United States allied itself with a totalitarian state. "Lend-lease here meant not only material help, but a program, an idea, and a common goal."

There is very little in this study that has not already been examined in many books published in the United States. The author bases his treatment primarily on *Documents on American Foreign Relations* plus a long series of secondary sources. Twelve excellent tables in the appendix summarize the quantities and dollar value of lend-lease help. What is notable about this study is that it represents a view from inside a country that incurred a decisive defeat in the war. Once again a strong and unassailable argument is presented for the importance of American lend-lease and military involvement in the defeat of the Axis Powers. This book should receive special attention by professional Soviet historicists engaged in deprecating the extent and significance of American aid during the war. It might also contribute to the bedside reading of General de Gaulle as a useful reminder of a critical factor in the military history of World War II.

City College of New York LOUIS L. SNYDER

INCREDIBLE VICTORY. By *Walter Lord*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1967. Pp. x, 331. $5.95.)

THE great naval battle described in this book began in earnest during the spring dawn of June 4, 1942, when squadrons of aircraft were launched from four Japanese carriers to pulverize the shabby defenses of two tiny specks of

sand and coral, collectively called Midway Island, as a prelude to invasion. The battle was in fact finished during the next dawn, when Japanese Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, crushed in spirit by the stupendous corruption of his strategy and tactics, was forced to withdraw his fleet westward. Yet this engagement of titanic forces came to a real finish only on June 7, when the United States aircraft carrier *Yorktown,* in a placid morning sea, succumbed to its terrible battle wounds and sank to the bottom of the Pacific.

The Battle of Midway, as it is now recorded in history, takes its place with Salamis and Lepanto, the Armada and Trafalgar, and the classic naval duel of Jutland. In truth, the victor had hardly any chance of winning, while the vanquished, flushed and arrogant with earlier conquests, was forced to stagger backward from blows that never should have been struck, and, once struck, should never have been mortal. It is not surprising that since then the engagement has been fought many times over by naval historians and journalists in numerous books and articles, for the battle had the proportions of a Grecian epic. Nor is it surprising that such a master narrator as Walter Lord should succumb to the temptation of using his literary skill and fine intuition in rephrasing the structure of that memorable naval engagement.

Incredible Victory is not a historical work in the traditional sense. It makes no significant changes in the accepted chronology of events; nor does it offer irrefutable evidence to settle once and for all that riddle of which American dive bombers sank what Japanese carriers. But this is not a shortcoming of the author, for the official "Battle Reports," written immediately after the engagement, when memories were fresh, varied. Lord has endeavored not only to recount the battle itself, but to re-create the sense of nervous urgency and the dark mood of the time. To do this he traveled many thousands of miles to interview nearly four hundred participants, some thirty-five of whom were Japanese. Out of this effort has come a gripping chronicle, replete with small incidents, bits of remembered conversation, and tangled thoughts that bring color to the great fabric of the battle.

The most difficult task of the professional historian, once he has amassed his documents, is to revive the dynamic truth of that particular part of the past he wishes to reconstruct. Lord has done this admirably, without the use of a thundering style and without the precise documentation that serious scholarship requires. Those of us who were adults during the days of Midway will recognize in Lord's book that this was the way it was. The younger historian, to whom Midway is only a childhood memory, will be given valuable insight into the vagaries of war. The book is not formal history, but perhaps it portrays better than formal history can those two dramatic minutes, over a quarter of a century ago, when American naval bombers pierced the heart of Japanese carrier strength and changed the whole course of the war in the Pacific. It is a moving story of good luck and bad, of brilliance and poor judgment, of the uncommon valor of those young pilots who flew their obsolete aircraft into the teeth of a vastly superior enemy. It is a well-told tale of an incredible victory.

Saint Peter's College THADDEUS V. TULEJA

HISTOIRE DE LA GUERRE FROIDE. Volume II, DE LA GUERRE DE CORÉE À LA CRISE DES ALLIANCES (1950–1967). By *André Fontaine.* [Les grandes études contemporaines.] ([Paris:] Fayard. 1967. Pp. 579.)

This is the latest addition to the growing volume of literature on the history of the cold war. Fontaine's two-volume study, covering the fifty-year span, 1917–1967, is more detailed, more comprehensive, better balanced, and less impressionistic than most other recent publications on the subject. He is not trying to prove a point or to propose a new conceptual framework, as many American writers have been doing. Rather, his approach is conventional and episodic, recounting numerous incidents on the basis of available evidence and establishing connections between them. There are few events of importance that the author does not mention, although one wonders why he fails to discuss the anti-American riots in Japan in 1960 and touches so lightly on France's objection to British entry into the European Common Market. One might also question whether the Korean War, from its inception to MacArthur's dismissal, merits only twenty-two pages when as much space is devoted to a single summer's episode, the summit *manqué* of 1963. Generally, however, this volume is a very useful compendium of international affairs since 1950.

As Paul Seabury has observed, writers on the cold war have been captives of constantly changing perspectives; not only the reality of power politics but also the perception of it have undergone rapid changes. The cold war has denoted both the reality of American-Soviet conflict and a mental framework in which to comprehend that conflict. A history of the cold war written in 1967 will inevitably have a different setting and ending from that undertaken in 1961. Fontaine began writing his two-volume history in 1962, of which Volume I was published in 1965 (*AHR,* LXXII [Jan. 1967], 533). Written from the perspective of the mid-1960's, Volume II emphasizes "the crisis of the alliances" in the West and within the socialist bloc. What is more striking is that direct confrontation between the two blocs plays only a secondary role in this narrative, with Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America taking up nearly two-thirds of the space. This is in contrast to Volume I, which is primarily concerned with events in Europe. The difference reflects the increasing importance of non-European areas in international affairs, but it raises methodological problems all the same. The postwar cold war was of European origin and must be understood in the context of the collapse of Germany. After 1950, on the other hand, such factors as anticolonialism, Zionism, and Asian-African nationalism have tended to overshadow the intra-European crisis. Fontaine nevertheless regards all these phenomena as ingredients of the cold war, which he characterizes as "the third world war." Thus the history of this war becomes essentially a survey of international relations. The cold war is the totality of world conflict. For this very reason, paradoxically, the book argues that the cold war will never end so long as Europe is divided. Thus the book ends with a Gaullist plea for European identity and unification. The view is European-centered, but the book is a testimony to the author's valiant attempt to transcend cultural parochialism and look at the past two decades with detachment and as a chapter in the history of mankind as a whole.

University of California, Santa Cruz Akira Iriye

Ancient

ANCIENT MEDICINE: SELECTED PAPERS OF LUDWIG EDELSTEIN. Edited by *Owsei Temkin* and *C. Lilian Temkin.* Translation from the German by *C. Lilian Temkin.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 496. $12.50.)

Ludwig Edelstein's collected essays on *Ancient Medicine* exhibit the remarkable consistency with which he pursued this field of study. The plan for selection, arrangement, and publication was apparently his own, although his premature death placed fulfillment in the able hands of Professor and Mrs. Temkin.

The work is divided into four parts. The first part, making up a little less than half the volume, primarily treats different aspects of the Hippocratic problem. It opens with Edelstein's famous essay on the oath, which he examined as a historical document, establishing its relatively late composition under the influence of followers of Pythagorean principles and hence representative of only a phase in the history of Greek medical ethics. Several essays are devoted to the analysis of the role of Hippocrates and other physicians down to the Methodists, the place of prognosis in the establishment of professional esteem, and the lowly social status occupied by physicians as craftsmen rather than scientist-philosophers. He re-examines the evidence for the historical Hippocrates, revealing not only a shadowy figure but the impossibility of identifying the genuine writings and demonstrating that none of the Hippocratic books correspond to his teachings as reported by Meno.

The second group of essays takes up special topics such as the relationship of Greek skepticism to medical empiricism, of medicine to religion and magic, the influence of the Alexandrians, Herophilus and Erasistratus, on the development of scientific anatomy, and contemporary attitudes toward dietetics.

In the third section Edelstein discusses broadly the changing and evolving ideals of the ancient physician from an earlier Hippocratic preoccupation with medical etiquette to the loftier ideals of the love of humanity as expressed by Scribonius, and he examines the relationship of medicine to philosophy to distinguish the essential Hellenism of Greek medicine. The final group of miscellaneous essays is on topics that possess only a peripheral bearing on the main theme of the book.

The striking feature of Edelstein's approach to the history of medicine in the classical period is his vigorous, forthright, and highly objective attack upon the myths and traditions that have so long encumbered our view, notably of Hippocratic medicine. He applies his very great talents as classicist and philologist to an exacting and detailed analysis of the many problems of ancient medicine and pursues his thought with great intellectual courage; in the process he overthrows many cherished opinions while reaching for a new and highly original interpretation. This forthrightness, although free from personal polemics, did not endear him to many of his colleagues. With the passage of time, however, his spirit of objectivity and the vigor of his approach, which so belied his own quiet and charming personality, have gained for him a most respectful following. These essays, many of which are highly original, will long exemplify scholarship at its

best and constitute a major contribution not as an illustration of some sociological theory but as the examination of historical phenomena and their place in the elucidation of the human forces contributing to scientific advance.

University of California, San Francisco J. B. deC. M. Saunders

DIE GRIECHISCHE GESCHICHTSSCHREIBUNG. Volume I, VON DEN ANFÄNGEN BIS THUKYDIDES. Part 1, TEXT; Part 2, ANMERKUNGEN. By *Kurt von Fritz.* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1967. Pp. xii, 823; 421. DM 148 the set.)

Professor von Fritz has given us a book that has long been needed: a balanced and well-documented account of the development of Greek historiography, rather than one more monograph, however useful, on a particular historian or group of historians. His command of the modern literature on every aspect of his subject is impressive, less for its completeness—no one can quite achieve that—than for the pointed comments he makes on each article or book. This is no mere listing of bibliography, but a critique of the best that has been written from early giants like Burckhardt on down to the latest discussion of the Athenian calendar. Also, the volume of notes (*Anmerkungen*) contains a whole series of indexes that will enable the student to trace the modern literature as well as the relevant passages from the ancient authors. The continuation, when it appears, will probably be even more valuable since our knowledge of the Greek historians after Thucydides becomes increasingly dependent on surviving fragments rather than entire works. The fragments, recently edited by Felix Jacoby in *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker,* have never been integrated into a single work on the Greek historians. Von Fritz' thoughtful examination of earlier historians who survive in this fashion (notably, Hecataeus of Miletus, Xanthus of Lydia, and Hellanicus of Samos) raises very high expectations for the next volume.

Quite understandably, Volume I is chiefly concerned with the two most famous of all Greek historians, Herodotus and Thucydides. The literature on each is unmanageable, but Von Fritz has come to grips with all the more influential theories about them: for Herodotus, Jacoby's article in *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (1913) serves as a point of departure, with an attempt being made chiefly to supplement and elaborate on it; but for Thucydides the discussion is centered around the work of Von Fritz' own teacher, to whose memory the present study is dedicated, Eduard Schwartz (*Das Geschichtswerk des Thukydides* [1919]). Von Fritz feels that Thucydidean criticism has been, in one sense, a Penelopean work. Schwartz, whose eyes were so sharp he could bore holes with them, was attacked and refuted by others whose vision was equally destructive. No one, however learned, can be expected to introduce a completely new interpretation of either historian at this late date, but Von Fritz has chosen his ground with care and with due acknowledgment of the opinions of earlier scholars. He stresses the view that Herodotus started out as a geographer who became a historian rather late, certainly after he left Egypt. His great contribution as a historian is that he has preserved for us an authentic account, not so much of the Persian War as of what people of all

sorts believed about that war, and about many other matters, in a later generation. Thucydides, on the other hand, gives us the results of his own analysis without caring to transmit what to him was gossip and superficial opinion. He both was and was not a scientist. His concern is with the pattern of human behavior that he conceives of as determined by "human nature," which he regards as unchanging.

It may be regretted that Von Fritz does not attempt to do for Thucydides what Jaeger has done for Aristotle (*Aristotle: Fundamentals of the History of His Development* [2d ed., 1948]), that is, to explain the way in which the historian grew into his task over the decades in which he was at work. It is inconceivable that even Thucydides could have solved all the problems of writing contemporary history before he began to write! This remains so, even though, like Von Fritz, one may reject Schmid's idea that the later Thucydides had decided not to use speeches as he had in the earlier books (cf. *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur,* I, 5^7, 163–64).

One general comment needs to be made: Von Fritz frequently summarizes long passages from Herodotus and Thucydides, passages that even the proverbial schoolboy ought to know. This is both tedious and irritating, yet there is no escape because comments that no one can afford to overlook are often buried in the summaries. On the whole, this volume reads very well, however, and the reader is occasionally rewarded by provocative references to the present scene. For example, Nicias' advice at the council of war during the Syracusan expedition is referred to by Von Fritz as in line with earlier Athenian policy, but still as marking an *escalation.*

One factual error should be mentioned. In discussing Hecataeus of Miletus the author lays considerable emphasis on a particular passage (F 195 in Jacoby), but the editor later decided that the passage comes from another and much later Hecataeus. This weakens Von Fritz' argument.

University of California, Los Angeles TRUESDELL S. BROWN

GRUNDRISS DER RÖMISCHEN GESCHICHTE, MIT QUELLENKUNDE. Volume I, REPUBLIK UND KAISERZEIT BIS 284 N. CHR. By *Hermann Bengtson.* [Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, Section 3, Part 5, Volume I.] (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1967. Pp. xii, 455. Cloth DM 48, paper DM 42.)

THIS volume replaces in the "Handbuch" the greater part of Niese's *Grundriss,* which first appeared in 1889 and was last revised in 1923. A second volume, to be written by K. F. Stroheker, will cover the period after Diocletian for which some fifty pages sufficed in the Niese work.

After a brief general introduction, twenty-two chapters are devoted to early Rome and the Republic, twelve to the Empire. Nearly all have the same basic form. First, there is an evaluation of the sources, together with a select, critical bibliography including both books and articles. The text that follows gives a necessarily brief but comprehensive account of events and developments. Footnotes contain specific references to sources and modern literature, often with comments. The volume's content is largely restricted to political history, in part

because other aspects of Roman civilization are or will be covered in other sections of the "Handbuch."

The preparation of such a work might not appear an attractive task to most of those aware of the difficulties and of the responsibility of representing their field in this famous collection. In fact, Bengtson, who is best known as a Greek historian, undertook it himself only after being unable to find someone else to do so. Students of Roman history have good reason to be grateful to him. Whether they are merely beginning their serious study of the subject or are venturing outside their special fields after many years, they will find the *Grundriss* of great value.

Despite the amount of detail contained on each page, the book is admirably lucid and easy to read. It is not greatly original in its conception or its conclusions and reconstructions. But, more important in such a work, it is consistently sensible, well balanced, and discriminating in its judgment and criticism. Many will especially welcome the emphasis on the problems that exist in every period and on questions that need to be more closely studied.

Naturally, no historian will read far without disagreeing with the author on some point, and inevitably there are errors. It is startling, for instance, to find an inscription cited as calling Emperor Severus Alexander *archisynagogus* when it does no such thing. But what should be stressed is that Bengtson has written a book that serious students of Roman history will find indispensable.

Institute for Advanced Study J. F. Gilliam

THE MORAL AND POLITICAL TRADITION OF ROME. By *Donald Earl.* [Aspects of Greek and Roman Life.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. 167. $4.95.)

The history of ancient Greek ideals and ethical concepts has long been a popular and productive hunting ground. The Roman world has been, since the early nineteenth century, comparatively neglected in this respect. Of course there are many reasons: the far larger body of Greek literature on which to draw, the greater diversity of the earlier material, the longer chronology and more startling semantic developments, and the fact that in many ways the Roman world is itself a continuation and development of the Hellenic world. But, above all, Roman ideals have seemed boring in their unchanging moralism and their invariable connection with political and military service to the city of Rome.

Professor Earl has made a virtue of this apparent drawback in an informative and challenging book that centers on the history of certain key words and concepts, especially *nobilitas, virtus,* and *gloria.* Drawing heavily on his own earlier discussion of Sallust and on the works of recent historians, especially Sir Ronald Syme, who have so enlivened the study of Roman politics, he finds a basically moral and state-oriented reaction to events constant from the earliest Roman evidence until the end of the Empire, despite great variation in the estimate of individual glory, noble ancestry, and the meaning of *libertas* and *res publica* in response to the vast political, social, and economic changes of seven centuries. The Greek-born historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, and St. Augustine

represent not the end of the tradition but its continuing development and viability.

Much of the effectiveness of this useful work lies in its somewhat spare simplicity. The development is treated, for example, as almost purely Roman, with a determined exclusion of the Greek influence that usually looms so large in such discussions, an influence certainly more important, if only as a catalyst, than one would guess here. Dealing with successive periods, the chapters often repeat principal themes, almost as if they were independent essays. The discussion centers mainly on historians (but with a most interesting section on the relevant language of Virgil and Horace). The work is a bold, and good, sketch of its subject. Its omissions and simplifications should stimulate a specialist, not annoy him. For a newcomer to the field it provides a readable and reliable introduction to some of the realities, as well as the ideals, of Roman politics.

Harvard University ZEPH STEWART

SAMNIUM AND THE SAMNITES. By *E. T. Salmon.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 446. $13.50.)

HISTORIANS of ancient Rome have left us a narrowly Roman view of Italy. Cato's *Origines* and other works presenting broader pictures have not survived. Scholars have been slow to tackle the task of reconstructing the history of the Italic peoples. This study of the Samnites, important as they were, ably fills a gap. Salmon often must resort to speculation or to inference from slight or biased evidence. He does this acutely and with generally sound judgment.

After a brief survey of the sources, the book describes the land, the people, their culture, political institutions, economy, religion, language, art, and architecture. Most of the remainder is chronological history, from 354 B.C., when a treaty was signed with Rome, through four Samnite Wars (including that with Pyrrhus as an ally), to subjection by Rome. The account then continues somewhat sketchily through the second century B.C. to the Social War and the Sullan Civil Wars, when the Samnites fought with the losers and were slaughtered by the thousand (82 B.C.). An attempt to trace Samnite influence upon greater Rome closes the book. There are a well-chosen bibliography, fair plates, and a foldout map that unfortunately does not indicate terrain or important routes.

The topography has been studied carefully and at firsthand. The resulting knowledge is applied in an especially impressive way to reconstruct the events of the Second Samnite War. Tactics and strategy are inferred; the sources are sometimes convincingly corrected.

The author naturally takes the viewpoint of the Samnites, but occasionally allows himself too much anti-Roman bias. Should one say, "The Romans were prepared to fight to the last Italian," when it is at least debatable whether the military quotas bore more heavily upon Italians than upon Romans? Note that the Roman destruction of Fregellae in 125 B.C. was hardly a policy of deliberate terror against Oscans; leaders in the revolt were Latin descendants of citizens. Also, it is very unlikely that Sulla made any formal pact with Italians that excluded Samnites: the Samnites attacked Sulla, not the reverse. Of Livy, it is

too lightly said that this is "rhetorical nonsense" or that, "fiction." "Even Livy admits" and several other like phrases testify that that historian wanted to be fair and tried, without much success, to see beyond his biased sources.

To end on the only proper note: this is an excellent, substantial, and welcome contribution to the history of Italy during the Roman Republic.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill HENRY C. BOREN

RACIAL PREJUDICE IN IMPERIAL ROME. By *A. N. Sherwin-White*. [The J. H. Gray Lectures for 1966.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. vii, 106. $4.50.)

THIS small, but timely, volume is comprised of three lectures delivered on the occasion of the presentation of the Gray Memorial Lectures for 1965–1966 before the faculty of classical literature and archaeology in Cambridge University. Whatever departures have been made from the original form of the lectures, for purposes of publication, were made with a view toward appealing to a wider audience than originally intended. Such changes in form include only a short bibliography along with source references and translations of most of the quotations.

The author has drawn his evidence from what he believed offered the "most coherence in time and space." Still, his choice of evidence has been very selective. These lectures are offered simply as an introduction to this important subject, leaving it to others to pursue the matter further.

The first lecture considers the Roman attitude toward the northern barbarians as revealed in the works of Strabo and Caesar. The second lecture is concerned with the attitude of Tacitus toward the same people. The evidence for the Roman attitude toward the northern barbarians as presented in the works of these three authors is carefully analyzed, compared, and contrasted. Strabo, Caesar, and Tacitus are in general agreement concerning those details of character, physique, and customs that they find particularly abhorrent in the Gauls and Germans. Prejudice against the northern barbarians, however, only manifested itself within the framework of Roman administration; it is reflected here in the failure of the northern Gauls to become equestrian officials. No racial crisis ever developed in the north itself because this area was never extensively settled by outsiders as had been the case in long-Latinized Gallia Narbonensis, where there could be no racial crisis because the Gauls had long ago been assimilated into the Latin culture.

If there was no actual racial strife in northern Gaul or Britain, it certainly existed elsewhere in the Empire, particularly in the eastern provinces between the Greeks and the Jews. This is the subject of the final lecture. The Jewish question is considered for the period 50 B.C. to A.D. 100, and the Graeculus theme is developed as revealed in the works of Pliny the Younger, Tacitus, Juvenal, and Lucian.

The author concludes that only the "raw material" for racial and cultural prejudice existed in the Roman Empire. "The distinction is political, social and religious, national rather than genetic." The term "racial" is used by the author to describe the antagonisms discussed only for the sake of convenience.

This product of able scholarship should interest a wide audience since the subject is of great contemporary concern.

University of South Carolina RICHARD H. CHOWEN

Medieval

TRAVAUX ET MÉMOIRES. Volume II. [Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation Byzantines.] (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard. 1967. Pp. 576.)

FOLLOWING the format of this "non-periodical's" previous volume, the present work contains one large, virtually book-length *mémoire,* followed by a number of shorter studies. Thus, approximately its first half is given over to Jean Gouillard's "Le synodikon de l'Orthodoxie." Collating for the first time all the manuscripts and the accretions of the centuries into one critical synthesis, he presents the full text of the συνοδικὸν βιβλίον as first established after the triumph of the images in 843 and as expanded thereafter through subsequent epochs of Byzantine Church history. He next offers an exhaustive commentary on its contents, and on their historical, doctrinal, and intellectual background and implications, adding supplemental texts and discussions in a series of appendixes. The result is a fundamental work for all concerned with Byzantine ecclesiastical, doctrinal, and intellectual history.

The next section is a posthumous contribution of the late Alphonse Dain, as completed by J.-A. de Foucault. Dain, the leading authority on the military manual, had been working on a comprehensive study of all such works. What he managed to complete of an introductory "inventaire systématique et chronologique," mainly the first of its two projected parts, is offered here under the title "Les stratégistes byzantins." It is an invaluable contribution to Byzantine studies and fully justifies its publication here, even though unfinished. Most of the essay discusses the various texts and authors systematically, with full apparatus of primary and secondary citations. What was begun toward the intended second part, surveying the manuscripts for this body of texts, is culled into an appendix that serves mainly to remind us of what was lost with the author's untimely death.

In the briefer *études* that follow, Hélène Ahrweiler presents the Greek text of "Un discours inédit de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète" and discusses the neglected genre of harangues (δημηγορίαι) in Byzantine literature. Alain Ducellier, in "Les Albanais à Venise aux XIV^e^ et XV^e^ siècles," illuminates an obscure but interesting detail of Balkan history in the age of the Ottoman conquest. In "Les archontes grecs et la féodalité en Morée franque," David Jacoby critically examines and sharply delimits the extent of the *pronoia* system's progress in the Peloponnesus before the Frankish conquest and, with it, the concomitant role of Byzantine "feudalism" in affecting the assimilation of the local Greek aristocracy into the Frankish system. A brief inscription of the fourteenth-century Thessalian ruler Symeon Uroš is analyzed by Denise Papachryssanthou.

Going beyond the previous format, however, this new volume adds a

"Bulletin des publications en langues slaves," much of which is a systematic summarization, by Irène Sorlin, of the activities of Soviet Byzantinists during the years 1945–1962. This is supplemented by Hélène Miakotine's useful résumé of Ostrogorsky's recent work on the Macedonian principality of Serres between 1355 and 1371.

In sum, this second volume confirms the impression given by the first that, in his new venture, editor Paul Lemerle has created an important forum to further Byzantine studies.

University of Wisconsin JOHN W. BARKER

BYZANTIUM AND EUROPE. By *Speros Vryonis, Jr.* [History of European Civilization Library.] ([New York:] Harcourt, Brace and World. 1967. Pp. 216. $5.50.)

ANOTHER book that attempts to trace the more than eleven hundred years of Byzantine history runs the risk of being challenged on the basis of originality of approach, thought, or interpretation, application of new source materials, comprehensiveness, and readability. Such very usable volumes on Byzantine history as those by Vasiliev, Ostrogorsky, and J. B. Bury certainly do not provide the kind of selection readily accessible in other areas of history, and so a reasonably comprehensive, accurate, but general history of Byzantium that would stress social and cultural forces, that would be attractively printed and generously illustrated from a wide range of sources (The Vryonis volume has 21 color plates, 3 maps, and 108 black-and-white plates.), and that would be competently edited would be welcome.

Byzantium and Europe, which is a volume in the "History of European Civilization Library," under the general editorship of Geoffrey Barraclough, would seem to meet the requirements of the series, despite the twenty-four errata listed separately in connection with the plates. Though there is little that could be called original in Vryonis' presentation, his style is brisk and lively, and he surveys the transition from antiquity and the emergence of Byzantium, the establishment of a homogeneous Byzantine society, and the decline, prostration, and collapse of Byzantium with perfect command of what he is doing, careful to avoid burdening the reader with details of interest only to the specialist. The importance of Byzantium as a civilization is constantly stressed as is the medieval Eastern Christian, predominantly Greek, character of that civilization. Vryonis does not hesitate to point out what the Byzantine contacts with Europe were and what resulted from them, but at the same time the Near Eastern contacts are given their proper emphasis in relation to the Byzantine Empire. A careful reading of this book makes clear the enormous importance of Byzantium for the history of the Balkans, Russia, Central Europe, and Italy, as well as for the Near East. The significance of Byzantine art for Slavic, Ottoman, and even for Venetian and Italian art is amply attested. The importance of Byzantine civilization for the role it played in the development of religious music, monasticism, and humanism in the West is noticed as is the very basis of Western humanism, namely, the preservation of so much of the classical Greek literary heritage. The most significant intellectual achievement was, of course, Christian theology, and

the Orthodox Christian character of the Byzantine Empire, sharing a Greco-Roman inheritance, made up of many ethnic and geographic elements, made for an international, multinational empire that served well for over a millennium and occupied a medial position between the Muslim East and the Latin West.

Vryonis has succeeded admirably in giving us a vivid picture of Byzantine civilization, amply illustrated textually and pictorially and supplemented with a bibliography of some of the most recent and most authoritative works in the field.

Colgate University JOHN E. REXINE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE XIIITH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF BYZANTINE STUDIES, OXFORD, 5–10 SEPTEMBER 1966. Edited by *J. M. Hussey et al.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 495.)

THE two main themes of the Thirteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies were Byzantium in its relations to the various East European and Near Eastern peoples and the internal affairs of the Byzantine Empire in the eleventh century. These themes formed the substance of the "main" papers, fourteen in number, that were discussed and expanded in the twenty-six supplementary papers. These forty papers are all well-documented, scholarly contributions, undoubtedly worth publishing. There were, however, many more papers, all presented in the various sections of the congress, but the British National Committee and the editors of the *Proceedings* did not find it possible to publish them. This is regrettable since many of these papers were quite as important as the "main" ones. Had they been published, they would have given the readers a complete picture of the extensive and versatile achievements of the congress. We have recently become accustomed to seeing as many as three volumes of proceedings of Byzantine congresses, and multivolume proceedings have been announced in connection with the Second International Congress of Cretan Studies and the First Congress of Balkan Studies, both held in 1966. The expedient chosen by the British committee gives the impression of poverty, if not of partiality.

The principal subjects covered in this volume include the Byzantine mission to the Turkic peoples of the northern Black Sea area, by Gyula Moravcsik; the relations of Byzantines and Serbs in the fourteenth century, by George Ostrogorsky; Russo-Byzantine relations from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, by G. G. Litavrin *et al.;* the influence of Byzantine chant on the music of the Slavic countries, by M. Velimirović; Bulgaria and the Bulgarians on the frontier of the Byzantine Empire in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, by D. Angelov; the Byzantine frontier in the Lower Danube, by E. Condurachi *et al.;* Byzantine miniature and icon painting in the eleventh century, by K. Weitzmann; Byzantine music in the light of recent research, by O. Strunk; the demotic and purist language tradition in the last Byzantine centuries, by E. Kriaras; Byzantine coinage as source material, by P. Grierson; hagiography as an aid to history, by F. Halkin; some Byzantine documents and interior organization in the eleventh century, by N. Svoronos; the background of the Battle of Manzikert, by C. Toumanoff; and the demography of the Byzantine Empire, by P. Charanis.

The volume also contains, in the beginning, the addresses delivered at the

opening and closing sessions of the congress and, at the end, brief notices on major research and publication projects now under way.

Center for Neo-Hellenic Studies, Austin, Texas G. G. Arnakis

MEDIEVAL FINANCE: A COMPARISON OF FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN NORTHWESTERN EUROPE. By *Bryce Lyon* and *A. E. Verhulst.* (Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press. 1967. Pp. 99. $5.00.)

Comparative history, although desirable, is little practiced for several reasons, one of which is the ever-increasing specialization of modern scholarship. The Belgians have for some time been interested in the history of municipal and financial institutions on a comparative basis and have organized to date two colloquia devoted to this subject: one held in Blankenberghe in September 1962 and one in Spa in 1964, both under the sponsorship of the *Crédit Communal de Belgique.*

This little book is partly an outcome of the meeting in Spa where one of the authors, Professor Verhulst of the University of Ghent, presented a paper on the early financial administration in Flanders, Normandy, and the royal domain of France. The book contains a revision of this paper and an original essay by Professor Lyon on the English system during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The introduction and conclusion are also by Lyon. At first, in Northwestern Europe, the rulers were still itinerant and mainly dependent on the income from their own domain; financial problems, in so far as they existed, were handled by the chamberlain who also took care of the wardrobe and valuables, which were carried around in a few chests. As the economy developed and levies in kind were commuted into money payments, this simple organization became increasingly inadequate and the treasury made itself gradually independent from the wardrobe. There also developed a system of auditing and accounting that the English recorded in the Pipe Rolls. On the Continent, the Flemish "Gros Brief" of 1187 is the only such document that has survived. Apparently, England took the lead in evolving a rational fiscal system by creating the Exchequer, which was at first located in Winchester. A similar organization soon grew up in Flanders and Normandy, but the French king remained ensconced in feudal practices and did not follow suit until well into the reign of Philip Augustus (1180–1223).

Lyon's chapters are the more readable because they contain less technical details and emphasize the broad outlines of the financial administration. This very useful little work should be called to the attention of all teachers of medieval history.

Brooklyn College Raymond de Roover

ELENCHUS FONTIUM HISTORIAE URBANAE. Volume I. Edited by *C. van de Kieft* and *J. F. Niermeijer.* [Acta Collegii Historiae Urbanae Societatis Historicorum Internationalis.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1967. Pp. vi, 636. 84 gls.)

This first of a series of volumes prepared under the auspices of the International Commission of Urban History presents primary sources for the comparative

study of the history of the European city. It covers the sources for the urban history of Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia until 1250, and it is to be followed by subsequent volumes presenting such sources for other European countries.

The present volume consists of the following four collections: "Quellensammlung zur Frühgeschichte der deutschen Stadt (bis 1250)," by Bernhard Diestelkamp; "Recueil de textes d'histoire urbaine belge des origines au milieu du XIII^e siècle," by Mina Martens; "Recueil de textes d'histoire urbaine néerlandaise des origines au milieu du XIII^e siècle," by C. van de Kieft; and "Quellensammlung zur Frühgeschichte der skandinavischen Stadt (bis 1300)," by Birgitta Fritz. The documents are thus arranged geographically according to modern countries, and chronologically within each of the four sections. This arbitrary arrangement of medieval texts according to political boundaries of the mid-twentieth century may seem rather incongruous at first, but need not detract from the evident usefulness of the collection, especially since the presentation of the material for each of the four areas is as unified and coordinated as the differences between their respective urban histories permit. Only in the case of the first section, dealing with German cities, was the present eastern political border (wherever that may be now) ignored; this section includes, therefore, some documents relative to medieval German cities in Bohemia, Poland, Prussia, and the Baltic lands. Each section is prefaced by a brief historical and editorial introduction, a list of the documents presented, and, except for Belgium, a short bibliography of the principal printed sources from which the documents were collected.

While the majority of the documents appear to have been selected for their significance to legal and administrative history, the collection is also useful to the social and economic historian. Most numerous are, of course, the charters, especially those bestowing privileges and immunities on cities, but other legal documents, as well as excerpts from narrative sources, have been included whenever available. Each document is preceded by an identification of the manuscript, or at least by an indication of the present location of the manuscript, as well as by a citation of the best printed edition. The documents are all cited from printed editions, rather than from the manuscripts, but in each case either a critical edition or at least the most reliable edition was selected; variants are only very rarely indicated. While the editors deserve to be commended for presenting wherever possible the full text of the charters, it is unfortunate that they have so often decided to omit the protocol and frequently even the arenga.

York University J. Brückmann

DESPOBLACIÓN Y REPOBLACIÓN DEL VALLE DEL DUERO. By *Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz.* (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Historia de España, Universidad de Buenos Aires. 1966. Pp. 406.)

Ever since Herculano, historians of medieval Spain and Portugal have recognized that around the edges of the kingdom of Asturias there existed a broad buffer strip or *despoblado,* running some 100 to 150 miles from the Cantabrian Mountains to the Duero River. Depopulated after 739 by Alfonso I as a military de-

fense measure against the Córdobese emirate, and subsequently repeopled by Ordoño I and Alfonso III in the ninth and early tenth centuries, this zone has been widely accepted as explaining demographic immigration, settlement types, land tenures, ecclesiastical reconstruction, and indeed much of the institutional pattern of early Castile, Leon, and Portugal. The doctrine has, however, come under attack, especially from contemporary Portuguese historians, including Pierre David and, more recently, from the distinguished Spanish philologist-historian, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, all of whom prefer to posit a basically unbroken Mozarabic occupation of the northern *meseta,* with continuity in population, language, place names, and general culture reaching back to the Visigothic and Muslim epochs. Professor Sánchez-Albornoz, the outstanding authority on medieval Spanish origins, has long championed the *despoblado* concept, but has not hitherto devoted a major work to it. He now undertakes to treat it in detail and to defend it as the indispensable key to the genesis of early medieval western Iberia.

His book is by far the most thorough review ever undertaken of all relevant data in the Hispano-Christian and Hispano-Muslim chronicles, the numerous and often highly disputed charters, and the place name evidence. It demonstrates, with its author's customary erudition, how consistently and irrefutably these sources establish first a depopulation and later a large-scale recolonization of the Duero Valley and its flanking Galaico-Portuguese and Castilian borderlands. Sánchez-Albornoz' superb analyses of the controversial charters are a prime contribution to the diplomatics as well as to the history of the period; equally noteworthy are his disquisitions on the restoration of the sees of Lugo and Braga, the shortcomings of David's and Menéndez Pidal's toponymic theses, the obscure beginnings of Castile, and the role of free peasants and free land in an authentic frontier *ambiente.* With its marshaling of a vast amount of material and its keen analysis of conflicting views, this powerfully argued work establishes on broader and firmer foundations than ever before how central to the formative evolution of the Asturo-Leonese, Castilian, and Portuguese states was the existence and eventual reoccupation of the Duero Valley *despoblado.*

University of Virginia C. J. Bishko

ZAPADNYE SLAVIANE I KIEVSKAIA RUS' V X–XI VV. [The Western Slavs and Kievan Rus in the 10th and 11th Centuries]. By *V. D. Koroliuk.* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1964. Pp. 381.)

This collection of eight studies deals with relations among the Poles, Czechs, and Rus during the tenth and eleventh centuries. The first chapter sets forth the purposes of the book as a coordination of opinions expressed in historiographic works devoted to the foreign policies of the three Slavic nations and an analysis of sources pertinent to the study of the area and of the period. The author suggests that research in the past has dealt mainly with relations between two countries only, and he proposes to survey the issues as a multinational problem affecting the three nations and their non-Slavic, primarily German, neighbors. The studies themselves provide up-to-date surveys of the historiography of the period and a new analysis of sources with stimulating suggestions regarding some still-obscure problems. The book has a very useful bibliography of sources and of studies

written in Russian, Polish, and Czech, as well as in Western languages. If only for these reasons, this work should be read by students of the medieval history of Russia and East Central Europe.

The book's main theme is that cooperation among the three Slavic political formations during the Middle Ages could have minimized the German danger, whereas any discord among them only furthered the Empire's policy of expansion. While the substantive chapters are positive contributions to our efforts to establish the facts and a broader correlation of events in the medieval history of East Central Europe, not all readers will agree with the conclusions drawn in the last chapter of the volume. The author suggests that there was, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, a feeling of "Slavic" solidarity among the peoples of Poland, Bohemia, and Rus and that there were forces working toward the creation of a multinational state. The author credits such forces and the resulting instances of cooperation to the power of the popular will. In contrast, conflicts among the Rus, Poles, and Czechs were caused, as a rule, by the respective feudal classes and by the meddling of the German Empire. For this thesis the facts and developments analyzed in the book give little support. The conclusions, especially those in the final chapter, provide material for thought on the fallacies of transplanting modern political concepts into the minds that shaped medieval history.

University of Washington IMRE BOBA

DAS STIFT ST. FLORIN ZU KOBLENZ. By *Anton Diederich*. [Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Number 16. Studien zur Germania Sacra, Number 6.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1967. Pp. 447, 13 plates, 5 maps. DM 48.)

DIE DOMKAPITEL ZU GOSLAR UND HALBERSTADT IN IHRER PERSÖNLICHEN ZUSAMMENSETZUNG IM MITTELALTER (MIT BEITRÄGEN ÜBER DIE STANDESVERHÄLTNISSE DER BIS ZUM JAHRE 1200 NACHWEISBAREN HILDESHEIMER DOMHERREN). By *Rudolf Meier*. [Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Number 5. Studien zur Germania Sacra, Number 1.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1967. Pp. 447. DM 48.)

FOR two generations German scholars have been producing an unrivaled series of studies in local ecclesiastical history. Subjects that elsewhere have been left to antiquarians and parochial patriots have attracted historians of competence, zeal, and even genius in Germany because at the turn of the century various hypotheses were suggested to explain why the investiture struggle and the Reformation weighed so much more heavily on Germany than on other kingdoms, and such hypotheses could only be verified by detailed studies of the local structure of the German churches. Stutz's contention that the decisive factor was the peculiarly Germanic system of proprietary churches (*Eigenkirchenwesen*) stimulated a host of studies on patronage and property, and, similarly, the thesis of A. Schulte, who saw the problem in sociological terms of a class struggle for control of ecclesiastical appointments, elicited a new prosopography of ecclesiastical personnel.

With characteristic thoroughness, a plan was formulated in 1908 for a comprehensive inventory of the personnel and possessions of every major ecclesiastical corporation in medieval Germany, to be published in a series entitled "Germania Sacra," with each volume in the series devoted to a particular diocese. The first appeared in 1929, the fifth in 1941, and again as many have appeared since the project was resumed in 1957 (annual reports in the *Deutsches Archiv*). When Geoffrey Barraclough summarized the first generation of the debate for English readers in his *Papal Provisions* (1935), it was already evident that the accumulation of local evidence would reveal the history of both Germany and the Church in a new light. Now, a generation later, the patterns are more distinct, but the century may turn again before a definitive synthesis can be made. In the meantime, institutional and regional studies are needed to elucidate and supplement the data appearing in "Germania Sacra," and it was to promote such parallel studies that the monograph series "Studien zur Germania Sacra" was initiated in 1961. Six numbers have already been published, the most recent being reviewed here.

Anton Diederich has written a full-length institutional portrait of the collegiate church of St. Florin at Koblenz, from its foundation in about 940 until its dissolution in 1802. The book begins with a systematic exposition of the chapter's history, constitution, possessions, and activities, which, taken together, exhibit the institution in all its aspects. The latter half of the volume contains comprehensive lists of the known members of the chapter and of its rights and properties, all admirably indexed. Although the foundation was one of the richest in the archbishopric of Trier, its greatness was regional at best. Evidently the principal virtue of the work consists in making all the relevant data for a single institution available for future comparative studies.

The same is true of the second work, as might be expected, since both began as doctoral dissertations, but the scope is rather different. Rudolf Meier has collected and classified the biographical data for three chapters in the region of Eastfalia and East Saxony. The heart of this work is a 250-page catalogue of the capitular personnel of the collegiate church at Goslar to 1528 and of the nearby cathedrals at Halberstadt and Hildesheim, to 1400 and 1200, respectively. The biographies are arranged alphabetically with a chronological cross index, and another 70 pages of supplementary lists classify the canons by their family connections, means of appointment, higher education, and benefices or other ecclesiastical offices held elsewhere. All who grope through this maze of lists will wish that a general index had been provided.

The author has used the data thus collected to trace the changing class structure of the three chapters, each of which he proves had a distinctive pattern of development. Halberstadt remained the preserve of the old noble families of the region down to the fourteenth century, when *ministeriales* appear in equal numbers. The places in the Hildesheim chapter were shared by the upper and lower nobility a full century earlier, and Goslar was still more open to change. While the ministerial class predominated in the thirteenth century, it had been replaced by the local bourgeoisie by the fifteenth. Meier's special merit is that, using the methods pioneered by Santifaller in his 1922 study of the Bressanone chapter, he combines capitular and familial prosopography to

reveal the social structure of the chapter. For the sake of the social historian, one hopes that future studies of chapter personnel will follow his example in this.

University of Kansas RICHARD KAY

DOMESDAY STUDIES: THE EASTERN COUNTIES. By *R. Welldon Finn.* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1967. Pp. xiii, 231. $9.00.)

ANY thoughtful analysis of Domesday II is bound to be an agony. As Mr. Finn himself concludes, "The wealth of statistical detail of this draft of Domesday Book promises so much and so far seems to yield so little, and to pose as many problems as it solves." In searching for coherence in the records of these eastern counties one finds hints and clues, but they invariably dissolve into a fog of ambiguous and system-defying detail. The Domesday commissioners themselves must have felt this same frustration as they surveyed manors that were not manors, vills that had many owners and extended into several hundreds, hundreds that belonged to two different shires, and a geld system that utterly defies present reconstruction. The clerks of Domesday II added to the fog: they "did not do their work particularly well, even when the complexity of their task is taken into account." And after Finn's careful labors, the fog remains, largely because the author rightly refuses to see order where none can be proven and partly because of occasional fogginess in his own style: "It is, our text strongly suggests, that it is chiefly of labour services of which we are reading."

The author first discusses Domesday II and what it discloses of the post-Conquest settlement in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex. Next he analyzes two contemporary surveys—the Inquisitio Eliensis and the Feudal Book of Abbot Baldwin of Bury St. Edmunds—concluding that since their relationship to Domesday II is indirect, collation is an uncertain task. He concludes with an extensive discussion of the administration, society, and economy of the eastern counties as disclosed in Domesday II and the "satellites." He finds that no clear distinction exists between freemen and sokemen, that both groups, together with slaves, villains, and plow teams, tended to decrease in number between 1066 and 1086, that bordars increased sharply in this period, and that the exact extent of these decreases and increases cannot be determined. Even these tentative conclusions, he warns, are merely probable.

This painstaking study is valuable less for its insight into post-Conquest institutions of Essex and East Anglia than for its candid demonstration of how little the sources reveal to us after thorough, critical examination.

University of California, Santa Barbara C. WARREN HOLLISTER

CANTERBURY UNDER THE ANGEVIN KINGS. By *William Urry.* [University of London Historical Studies, Number 19.] ([London:] University of London, Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1967. Pp. xvi, 514; map folder. $16.80.)

DR. Urry's work is in some ways comparable to an archaeological dig; his book to the published excavation report. The plan of the site has been recovered from descriptions in twelve rentals listing the properties of Christ Church Monastery. One of the important finds is that within the walls of Canterbury the modern

ground plan goes back to the twelfth century. Two large-scale maps with the names of people who held the various tenements from about A.D. 1166 and A.D. 1200 show the results of this topographical study. Added to the book are transcriptions of seven rentals previously unpublished and seventy charters selected primarily from manuscripts in the chapter archives at Canterbury. Clear editing and a full index to the documents make these 225 pages easily usable as a whole or for reference.

The book itself is an extensive commentary on the documents rather than a narrative history. Christ Church owned between one-third to one-half of the domestic property in Canterbury, yet rents from this property amounted to only about 5 per cent of the total income of the monastery. In the thirteenth century, however, these rents usually equaled or surpassed the income from offerings at the tomb of St. Thomas Becket. Among the various trades and occupations mentioned in the rentals, the most significant new evidence concerns the moneyers. The close relation of monastery and borough appears in the names of many servants of the monastery holding property in Canterbury and of other burgesses dependent upon selling their products to the monks. There is also some evidence on borough government.

Among the hundreds of names in the rentals, Urry discusses several leading families in Canterbury and surrounding Kent. A few individuals also stand out. There are interesting references to the chronicler Gervase of Canterbury and to the satirical poet Nigel Wireker. The fortunate survival of documents from about A.D. 1166 provides references to several participants in the events surrounding the martyrdom of Becket, and topographical indications enable the author to reconstruct with precision the area around the archiepiscopal palace and cathedral where the fatal drama took place.

In spite of the limitations imposed by the author's approach and his reluctance to look beyond Canterbury for comparative evidence, the book is a valuable contribution. I hope he will now undertake the history of medieval Canterbury, which he is uniquely qualified to write.

Duke University CHARLES R. YOUNG

PLACITA CORONE: *OR* LA CORONE PLEDEE DEVANT JUSTICES. Edited with introduction, notes and translation by *J. M. Kaye.* [Selden Society Supplementary Series, Volume IV.] (London: the Society; distrib. by Bernard Quaritch, London. 1966. Pp. xxxix, 31, 42. 32*s.*6*d.*)

THE value of this work lies in the insight it provides into the administration of justice in the thirteenth century. Originally written in 1274, according to its ingenious editor, it went through many transmogrifications in subsequent copyings, most of them attenuation of the matter. The latest copies are only the skin and bones of the original. The ancestral manuscript has disappeared. The work was never a treatise in the sense of being a systematic statement of facts or principles of the law. It was simply a verbatim transcript of proceedings in criminal cases before local justices, recorded for use as a model by "such officials as sheriffs, coroners and bailiffs" or "unlearned magnates, civil servants and others from whom justices of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery were drawn."

The state of law the work represents is in many respects that before 1250, before battle virtually disappeared as a means of trial on appeal in favor of jury trial. In the longer version several mentions of Roger de Thurkelby, active in the 1240's and 1250's, suggest that the author was Robert Carpenter, Thurkelby's clerk. Mr. Kaye rejects the idea that the work was written by a professional, but he thinks the author of the nonexistent original may have been a Robert Carpenter, Sr.

Among other points of interest in the text is clear evidence that Holdsworth was wrong in thinking that appeals of felony were in decline because of "the growth of a feeling that the suppression of crime should be the affair of the state rather than that of injured parties and their kin." Appeals were not in decline; rather, judges discouraged abuse of them for trivial causes or for malicious vexation. Most interesting, perhaps, is evidence that justices cozened appellants out of trial by battle, so far as they could, not because they considered it necessarily inferior to jury trial but because its formalities were too time consuming. Trial by jury was more efficient because it was quicker.

As is usual in the Selden Society's volumes, the French text is given on the left-hand page with the English translation on the right. In contrast to the later yearbooks, which are hard for anyone untrained in law to comprehend, the cases in *Placita Corone,* especially in the longer version, ring with the sound of genuine human experience.

Rutgers University MARGARET HASTINGS

THE OFFICE OF AMBASSADOR IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By *Donald E. Queller.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 251. $7.50.)

THIS substantial work concerns the evolution of the office of ambassador from the late twelfth through the fifteenth century. The first three chapters study the various names and types of diplomatic agents: the *nuncius,* particularly, who simply spoke for his principal; the procurator, who could act as well as speak; the plenipotentiary, who acted with full powers; and the appearance in the late Middle Ages of the general term "ambassador." The author then analyzes the functions of ambassadors: the different sorts of letters they carried (letters of credence, procurations, instructions, and presealed "blanks"); their reports; the personnel and expenses of embassies; their privileges, immunities, and ceremonies; and the ratification of their acts, showing (contrary to previous scholarly opinion) that they were valid even without ratification by the principal. The book concludes with a summary, a bibliography, and a brief index that includes subjects but not names.

The author stresses at the beginning that "much legalistic or idealistic nonsense has been written about . . . the right of sending and receiving diplomatic agents." The present work is extensively documented and written with discrimination and good sense. It is valuable not only for the history of diplomacy but also for the study of the emerging national states, the concept of *plena potestas,* and other aspects of late medieval political development. It even contributes to the debate over the nature of the Renaissance by suggesting that some scholars have exaggerated the significance of diplomatic oratory. It is

limited in its chronological and geographical scope, however. It concentrates on Italy, especially Venice, pays some attention to Northern Europe, but says almost nothing about Spain, Byzantium, and the non-Christian world. A broad study of early medieval communications and travel, the traditions of Greek and Arabic diplomacy, the system of ecclesiastical legates, and early techniques of representation might show some interesting parallels and influences. Even within the period studied here, the citation, side by side, of scattered examples tends to obscure the chronological development.

The book is handsomely produced, though there are a few misprints and bibliographical errors. The citation of places of publication in the language in which they appear on the title pages, especially in Latin, is occasionally confusing. The frequent use of terms like "naturally," "obviously," and "of course" at times gives an unnecessarily apologetic tone to this solid and original study.

Harvard University GILES CONSTABLE

ENGLISH LAW IN IRELAND, 1290–1324. By *G. J. Hand.* [Cambridge Studies in English Legal History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 280. $13.50.)

"Until 2.16 in the afternoon of 28 June 1922 the series of bench rolls in the Public Record Office of Ireland was one of the most extensive sources for the history of the lordship." Then the Irish Irregulars fired the Four Courts and the Dublin archives burned up. Thus a history of medieval law in Ireland can only be composed from bits and pieces. Like an archaeologist, Dr. G. J. Hand, a barrister of King's Inns and a lecturer at University College, Dublin, has created an imaginative reconstruction. His is an authoritative history of the medieval Irish legal system at its peak. Hand's technique is analytical and factual, with a few cautious conjectures, and comparative and differential. His mood is nonpartisan and detached, yet sympathetic toward the men, English though they were, who worked the Anglo-Irish judiciary.

Institutionally, the judicial system that King John began in 1210 in Ireland had, by 1300, become a replica of England's. The justiciar's court corresponded to the King's Bench, and the Common Bench at Dublin to that at Westminster. Ireland, too, had an Exchequer, a King's Council, and a High Court of Parliament, but some practices differed from those in England. John had "made English laws and customs established there," and a corps of Edwardian men of law pragmatically adapted the law they knew to local circumstances. They applied in Ireland common law and statute (both English and Irish), criminal law and civil, feudal law (liberties and franchises), and, through review of cases and appeals, the "Irish Jurisdiction of English Courts"—King's Bench, Council, and Parliament. All these topics, and the "Status of the Native Irish," too, Hand has treated with skill and learning.

The attempt to transplant a sophisticated system of law and justice into another land and culture is still relevant and may explain in part England's failure in Ireland. Only a few natives, nobles, and some spouses of mixed marriages gained protection of English law, and that by favor or purchase. The Edwardian governors, Hand's history implies, failed to devise a comprehensive theory of government; nor did they really conquer the Irish. Hence, Hand

concludes, "Ireland was treated as a conquered country when it was not." Why Edward I or Edward II did not convert the lordship into a proper kingship of Ireland, as Henry VIII was to do in 1542, remains a question. Only once, Hand states, was the matter raised: "in 1329 a conciliar memorandum posed—but left unanswered—the problem whether, because the king *est nomme seignur Dirlaunde e nient roy,* his prerogative changed on crossing the Irish sea." There were royal prerogatives, regalian rights, and regal power, and yet no *Rex Hibernie.* There were pleas of the crown in Ireland, yet no Irish crown. The answers doubtless lie after 1324, perhaps with Edward III, a king who might have worn three crowns as gracefully as two, or an Irish one instead of a French. What happened to "the public law aspects of the common law" thereafter is a story left for Hand to tell. It will require the same perseverance, labor, endurance, and imaginative research that he put into this one.

Yale University WILLIAM HUSE DUNHAM, JR.

THE GREEN COUNT OF SAVOY: AMADEUS VI AND TRANSALPINE SAVOY IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY. By *Eugene L. Cox.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 400. $11.00.)

PROFESSOR Eugene Cox notes in the preface to this biography that English-speaking scholars, except for Previté Orton, have neglected the history of Savoy. In his attempt to fill the void the author relies extensively upon archival materials in Dijon, Paris, and Chambéry, the capital and most important residence of Amadeus VI, count of Savoy.

Medieval Savoy controlled the principal Alpine passes: Mont Genèvre, Mont Cenis, Little and Great St. Bernard, and Simplon. Therefore, and since it also lacked natural frontiers, its counts had to maintain constant military vigilance against French kings, German emperors, and Italian princes, and to form diplomatic treaties and marriages with potential allies and enemies. Amadeus VI succeeded in all respects, he extended the Savoyard boundaries eastward and southward, and he actually founded the basis of power for his grandson, Amadeus VIII, under whom Savoy reached its greatest extent. The author has excellently portrayed the Count's constant preoccupation with internecine wars and invasions by the mercenary companies from France.

Amadeus VI (1334–1383) was known as "the Green Count of Savoy" after he and his entourage appeared in splendid green robes and vestments at the festivities and tournaments of the Christmas season of 1352–1353. Thereafter, he exhibited a penchant for green, extraordinary in the Middle Ages. The event and the sobriquet exemplified the chivalrous strain in the young Count. This strain, based on religious zeal, guided Amadeus, with one or two exceptions, during most of his life and inspired him to undertake an ill-fated crusade against the Turks that cost him money, friends, and prestige. Throughout his career the Count was tormented by his chivalrous idealism and the necessity of dealing with contemporaries less idealistic than he.

It was the combination of chivalric idealism and practical policy that prompted Amadeus to visit the people of his domains, to hear their complaints, to hold court and assemblies, to watch over officials, and to punish those proved cor-

rupt. Through such activities he wrought a unified administration for an area divided by mountainous terrain.

The author has described very well the military and diplomatic activities of a count constantly on the move. Under the circumstances the lack of concern for literature and the arts is explicable, but a separate chapter on the economic life and resources of the regime and its people should have been offered.

University of Cincinnati HILMAR C. KRUEGER

LES MARCHANDS ÉCRIVAINS: AFFAIRES ET HUMANISME Ā FLORENCE, 1375–1434. By *Christian Bec*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI[e] Section: Sciences économiques et sociales, Centre de Recherches Historiques. Civilisations et sociétés, Number 9.] (Paris: Mouton. 1967. Pp. 489. 66 fr.)

THIS study attempts to define the mentality of the Florentine entrepreneurial class in the early Renaissance, as reflected in merchant writings. The author further seeks to clarify the relationship between this mercantile mentality and humanism, which in these years became the most important element in Florentine intellectual life. Bec first analyzes in detail the writings of several merchants: the diarists Morelli and Pitti; the proverb collector Paolo da Certaldo; the letter writers Datini and Mazzei; the chroniclers Gino Capponi and Goro Dati; the *novellista* Giovanni Sercambi. He discusses the literary style of these authors, as well as their attitudes and values. The second part of the book, entitled "mercantile humanism," defines and illustrates certain basic elements in the ideology of the Florentine merchant class. There are chapters on economic practices, on education, and on the merchant's world view. The third section examines various aspects of the merchant-humanist nexus, the intellectual and professional bonds that united these groups.

The book's achievement lies primarily in the assembly of new evidence on the literary and intellectual concerns of the Florentine patriciate; it does not contribute significantly to our understanding of the historical forces that motivated this class to adopt humanism as an educational system and a moral guide. The author's analysis of the different literary styles employed by these merchant authors is instructive, and he has uncovered some useful material from archival sources on Florentine educational patterns. But in his treatment of the major problems, he has not advanced beyond the interpretations formulated by Varese, Martines, Garin, and Baron. Indeed, his conception of this mercantile culture as materialist, rational, and secular is quite similar to the model developed thirty years ago by Alfred von Martin. It does not take into account recent scholarly efforts to show the complexity and pluralistic character of this intellectual milieu, which cannot be described in such monolithic terms.

University of California, Berkeley GENE A. BRUCKER

THE FLORENTINE RENAISSANCE. By *Vincent Cronin*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1967. Pp. 316. $7.95.)

THIS work of popularization treats the spiritual and artistic life of Florence in the fifteenth century. Comparison with Ferdinand Schevill's successful general

work on the subject is in order. While Schevill was extremely knowledgeable about political history (no little accomplishment), his understanding of ideas, art, and historiography was not outstanding. This book takes on a difficult burden with its heavy stress upon religious and aesthetic experience.

After a survey of medieval communal society, the author discusses the classical ideals entertained by early Renaissance humanists. Against this he postulates an overly simplified interpretation of Christian reaction to this revivified classicism. The greater part of the book is then devoted to Florentine culture from the coming of the Medici until the French invasion at the end of the century. Here at some length are reviewed the lives and contributions of literati, scientists, and artists. He is generally careful, and, while seldom resisting the colorful anecdote or dramatic biographical detail, his stories are good and the telling correct. Not surprisingly, his tastes run to contemporary memoirs and lives. While he has read the principal secondaries of general Florentine history, his appreciation of the commanding art historians, from Millard Meiss through Panofsky, fails to shine through. His approach is always that of a connoisseur of art rather than that of a scholar.

This is surely a pleasing and informative book, and, if the role of connoisseur is so defensible, why, then, must my critical judgment be a bit bland? Cronin looks into the past for reasons why the Florentines hold such power over our sensibilities. The answer involves a discovery of Renaissance counterparts to present-day psychology and ideas: freedom, being broad-minded, being reactionary, and the contest between classicism and Christianity are conceptualizations that, if fixed to the fifteenth century, can only trivialize the past. Years ago the art historian Aby Warburg pierced that magic circle of the "self-reinforcing cliché" by questioning the efforts of Ruskin and Taine to translate Renaissance naturalism in terms of nineteenth-century sensuality. Cronin's historical quest is liberal, rational, and tasteful, but it falters when confronting a culture that was magic-ridden, geometric, naturalistic, liturgical, puritanical, and so forth. Renaissance consciousness is not yet dominated by Enlightenment ideals of sincerity and consistency; nor are there firm connections between the inner core of human irrationality and the public man. To describe the signs and symbols of the *quattrocento* is to endure an alien psychology that may still capture us by appealing to our desire for such goals as order, grandeur, and immortality.

University of Rochester MARVIN B. BECKER

MEMORII, 1401–1477 [Memoirs, 1401–1477]. By *Georgios Sphrantzes*. With an appendix, PSEUDO-PHRANTZES: MACARIE MELISSENOS CRONICA, 1258–1481 [Pseudo-Phrantzes: The Chronicle of Makarios Melissenos, 1258–1481]. Edited by *Vasile Grecu*. [Scriptores Byzantini, Number 5.] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România. 1966. Pp. xvii, 618. Lei 35.)

THE two texts contained in this volume are models of the art of scholarly editing. The memoirs of Georgios Sphrantzes are here presented in a first critical edition, and the chronicle of Makarios Melissenos, a forgery largely based upon Sphrantzes' work, has been carefully investigated to determine all the sources appropriated by the good bishop for his own purposes.

Sphrantzes was a high functionary who served the last three Byzantine emperors and their kin. Besides holding a variety of administrative posts, he headed numerous diplomatic missions and kept a daily record of his official activities and events in his own life. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 he went into exile, and during the last ten years of his life he revised and expanded his diary, which is now lost, into a true volume of memoirs. The result is a highly personal narrative that is unlike most Byzantine historical works, where the author adheres to certain established rules of composition and remains in the background.

Almost a century later, probably between 1573 and 1575, Makarios Melissenos, the exiled bishop of Monembasia who had taken refuge in southern Italy after the Battle of Lepanto, expanded Sphrantzes' memoirs. Eager to impress his new hosts, he drew heavily upon his own imagination to glorify the Melissenos name. He circulated his forgery, which he entitled *Chronicon,* under the name Georgios Phrantzes. It was accepted as an original work and came to be known as *Chronicon Maius,* while the *Memoirs* were regarded as a condensation of the former and were dubbed *Chronicon Minus.* Not until 1948 did R. J. Loenertz prove the paternity of both. Makarios' chronicle is not without historical interest; in Book Three he describes at length the siege and conquest of Constantinople, and in Book Four he engages in a spirited polemic with the Latins over the causes of Byzantium's fall and undertakes a comprehensive critique of the Muslim faith.

In establishing an accurate version of Sphrantzes' *Memoirs,* the editor encountered certain inconsistencies of language in the five extant manuscripts. He has noted these divergences in the critical apparatus. As for Makarios' work, he has indicated those passages taken from Sphrantzes, those from other works, Makarios' personal contributions, and assorted short additions by using different styles of type. The original Greek texts of both works are accompanied by a Rumanian translation, and useful indexes of names and places for both the Greek and Rumanian texts are appended.

University of Illinois KEITH HITCHINS

JAKUB Z DĘBNA NA TLE WEWNĘTRZNEJ I ZAGRANICZNEJ POLITYKI KAZIMIERZA JAGIELLOŃCZYKA [Jakub of Dębno against the Background of the Domestic and Foreign Policy of King Kazimierz Jagiełło]. By *Feliks Kiryk.* [Polska Akademia Nauk, Oddział w Krakowie. Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych, Number 18.] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1967. Pp. 146. Zł. 27.)

THIS compact little monograph by the Polish historian, Feliks Kiryk, rescues from historical obscurity the fifteenth-century Polish *homme d'état,* administrator, diplomat, and humanist, Jakub of Dębno, and gives a full, if sometimes detail-laden, glimpse into the tangled skein of Polish and Central European dynastic diplomacy. This work is the outgrowth of an earlier article in which Kiryk explored his protagonist's economic and cultural ideas and activity.

After sketching the party struggle in Poland following the death of Ladislas

VI at Varna (1444), that is, the conflict between the conservative aristocratic party of magnates led by the powerful bishop of Cracow, Oleśnicki, who sought to undermine the royal authority, and the more centralistic younger gentry during the interregnum and early reign of Casimir IV, the author moves into his subject with scholarly authority. Jakub of Dębno first appeared at Cracow University and was one of the party of royal devotees cultivated by the King and entrusted with high office. At various points in his public life he was royal treasurer, chancellor, and the holder of numerous high provincial and district offices.

Jakub visited Prague on numerous diplomatic missions connected with the attempt of the Bohemian King, George of Poděbrad, to weld together a universal European dynastic alliance against the Turks. Later, when this collapsed because of papal hostility to the Bohemian King, Jakub implemented a treaty between the Bohemian ruler and Casimir who wisely refrained from heeding the papacy's advice to seize the Bohemian crown by force. Polish neutrality was crucial during the struggle between Matthias Corvinus and George for possession of Bohemia, and in gratitude the Bohemian King later left his throne to Casimir's son. Jakub also made numerous trips to Central Europe and Rome where, despite Poland's neutrality toward Bohemia, he was held in high esteem by the Vatican *Curia*.

The author has exhaustively combed the extant materials on this subject in the Polish, Slovak, and Hungarian archives as well as relevant secondary source materials. This book is not for the casual reader but more for the specialist in the dynastic history and diplomacy of East Central Europe.

State University College, Brockport, New York PAUL N. HEHN

Modern Europe

LES UNIVERSITÉS EUROPÉENNES DU XIVe AU XVIIIe SIÈCLE: ASPECTS ET PROBLÈMES. ACTES DU COLLOQUE INTERNATIONAL À L'OCCASION DU VIe CENTENAIRE DE L'UNIVERSITÉ JAGELLONNE DE CRACOVIE, 6–8 MAI 1964. [Études de documents publiés par l'Institut d'Histoire de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Genève, Number 4. Commission Internationale pour l'Histoire des Universités, Études et travaux, Number 1.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1967. Pp. 193.)

IN the spring of 1363, Casimir the Great of Poland sent his trusted knight, Jan of Rzeszów, to Avignon to petition Pope Urban V for an annulment of his childless marriage with Adelaide of Hesse. For political reasons the Pope was unable to grant the annulment, but, as consolation, he did grant Casimir permission to found a *Studium Generale* in Cracow. In the following year the University of Cracow was founded. Six hundred years later, in 1964, a group of scholars gathered to commemorate that event. This volume contains the papers they read and the discussions that followed.

The first four articles describe the founding of four medieval universities in Central Europe: Cracow, Prague, Pécs, and Vienna. The authors provide valuable insight into the reasons why these institutions were founded. Unlike the first

generation of universities at Paris, Bologna, Salerno, and Oxford, which appeared spontaneously, this second generation was founded by territorial kings and princes who sought to bring their kingdoms prestige, prosperity, and a ready supply of lawyers, doctors, and civil servants. Since the conditions under which these early universities were founded were similar, these articles tend to be repetitious. The one by Frantisek Kavka is the most interesting because it goes beyond narrow institutional history and treats the founding of the University of Prague in a broader sociological context.

The second group of articles deals with the concept of the university in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. They are more speculative and contentious, especially the ones by Sven Stelling-Michaud and Jacques Le Goff. Stelling-Michaud shows how medieval universities grew and accommodated Renaissance learning while Le Goff maintains that medieval universities atrophied during the Renaissance and became the first vestigial institutions of the *ancien régime*.

The last group of articles discusses the reform of universities during the century of the Enlightenment. Boguslaw Lésnodorski, using the University of Cracow as an example of a university that was transformed by the Enlightenment into a secular center of broad scholarship and public service, writes the best of these. Although the author does not say so, this reformed university might have served as a model for the founding of the University of Berlin in the following century.

Unfortunately, none of these articles discuss the methodological problems involved in writing the history of universities; nor do they raise many important questions that remain to be discussed. Like any such collection, this one is uneven in quality; the best articles add appreciably to our knowledge of these curious institutions.

University of Wisconsin STERLING FISHMAN

LES MONARCHIES EUROPÉENNES DU XVI^e^ SIÈCLE: LES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES. By *Henri Lapeyre*. [Nouvelle Clio: L'histoire et ses problèmes, Number 31.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1967. Pp. 384. 22 fr.)

THE three parts of Lapeyre's contribution to the "Clio" series serve as many purposes. The first, "Documentation," provides a clear guide to the main primary sources and a bibliography of scholarly studies, topically arranged. Both should be valuable research tools for the young scholar or one new to the field, although any specialist will note some gaps, such as the major *Recueils* of the later Wars of Religion in France (*Mémoires de la Ligue, Mémoires de Nevers*) and the work of Pierre Jourda on Marguerite d'Angoulême. The omission of critical comment on secondary works is partially replaced by analyses of new interpretations of certain issues in Part III ("Débats et combats: Directions de recherches"), but these are uneven in value and emphasis. References to the work of Elton and Stone are many, and the treatment of Tudor history generally should prove a useful guide to French students. The chapters on "Politics and Religion" and "Political Ideas," on the contrary, do not indicate the range and complexity of the problems involved, especially in France. The section on Mach-

iavelli is weakened by omission of the work of Chabod and Mattingly's speculation that the *Prince* is a political satire.

I question the value, throughout the "Clio" series, of Part II, "Nos connaissances." The summaries of events are too condensed to be adequate, and the analysis is insufficient. A reader unfamiliar with the French Wars of Religion could not discern the main threads of the struggle from the account given, and the three paragraphs on the reign of Elizabeth—beyond the religious settlement—give a distorted impression of the years after 1588. Lapeyre was obviously hindered by the limitations imposed and frequently refers to them. One wonders if expansion of Part III would not have been more useful to the scholar, leaving "the facts" to the *manuels* where they are often more fully explained to the nonspecialist or beginner.

The subtitle, *Les relations internationales,* should not mislead the reader; only four of the twenty-six chapters deal directly with this aspect of the century, and their synthesis is less effective than that of the several chapters on institutions, where Lapeyre's lucid comparisons reflect his comprehensive and sophisticated scholarship.

Tufts University NANCY L. ROELKER

VIE SPIRITUELLE ET VIE SOCIALE ENTRE RHIN ET BALTIQUE AU XVII^e SIÈCLE: DE J. ARNDT À P. J. SPENER. By *J. B. Neveux.* [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Paris-Nanterre.] (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck. 1967. Pp. xlvii, 933. 100 fr.)

THIS title reveals the author's thesis. In the French positivist-sociological tradition he views religion as an essentially social phenomenon; the individual psychologically needs "witnesses" to his salvation. The area described provides a second major theme: that there was no "Germany" in the seventeenth century despite later nationalistic, Prussian-oriented historiography. Seeking "ancestors" for the new united Germany, its historians minimized earlier disunifying factors. Germans have thus tended to conceive their religious past "hagiographically," in spiritual and intellectual, not sociopolitical terms. Neveux could have discussed more succinctly this historiographical problem as well as his objections to the term "pietism" in connection with seventeenth- as opposed to eighteenth-century German Protestantism. He nowhere describes either the traditional or his own understanding of the concept, but protests the indiscriminate use of "pietism" as well as "baroque" for oversimplifying complex phenomena. Neveux thus stresses diversity and disunity, showing that, while Christian *religiosity* provided the only real integrating factor, *religion* played a key role in the struggles for power among the princes, estates, bishops, and self-styled "prophets" of the myriad "micro-regions" between the Rhine and the Baltic. The heart of the work is a detailed discussion of forty persons prominent in seventeenth-century Central European religious life, clerical and lay, Protestant and Catholic, showing their parts in the "theologico-politics"—Neveux borrows the term from Spinoza—of their "generations" and localities. He emphasizes the religious significance of areas threatened by outside "imperialisms" and along ethnic borders, as well as Eastern European influences upon Germanic thought. Encyclopedic essays on fundamental Christian

doctrines, civil and ecclesiastical institutions, group and personal relationships that follow show how Protestant reformers failed to find clear solutions to most of the perennial doctrinal and practical dilemmas of Christianity, thus increasing the material of "theologico-political" conflict.

Neveux's thesis was twenty years in preparation and reveals both profound erudition and a wealth of ideas. He has consulted such an immense body of sources that his footnotes refer to a separate, yet unpublished volume of bibliography. The interconnection between religion and politics in the West has long been a fruitful historiographic concept. Neveux gives it impressive substantiation. His work otherwise defies categorization; it comprises at once a remarkable contribution to the over-all study of theology, religious psychology and sociology, institutions and literature, as well as specifically to seventeenth-century European political history.

University of California, Santa Barbara H. Arnold Barton

SWORD AND MITRE: GOVERNMENT AND EPISCOPATE IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND IN THE AGE OF ARISTOCRACY. By *Norman Ravitch*. [Studies in European History, Number 10.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1966. Pp. 246. 36 gls.)

In comparing the social origins and recruitment of French and English-Irish bishops in the century before 1789, the author tries to measure aristocratic resurgence statistically in both societies, and he seeks to define the closing of the episcopate to families of inferior birth. Such a statistical comparison could be valuable and, at first thought, would not appear difficult to prepare since the groups involved were small and appointments were controlled by national governments. But the comparison was much more difficult than the author realized, chiefly because of the lack of well-defined social groups to which bishops may be assigned with certitude, and also because comparison, at least in France, involved only three chronological, extremely long, points in the century.

In France bishops apparently came increasingly from noble families of the sword, and less from the robe, but to readers of F. Ford's *Robe and Sword* (1953) and F. Bluche's *Origine des magistrats . . .* (1956) this conclusion suggests little more than that robe ambition to have a sword identity led to the increase of the latter in the episcopacy. In any case, all the groups of nobles together, among the bishops, increased by only 2 per cent from 1700 to 1790, and this scarcely seems significant when they had already reached 88 per cent of the total under Louis XIV. One would have liked to know whether prominent genteel families, the peers and dukes, actually supplied more bishops as the century continued, since the prestige of a noble family and its weight at court in gaining favors might be a better indicator of aristocratic resurgence than absolute numbers alone. The problem here is the author's failure to give an analysis of aristocratic pressure for those appointments, not only for the eighteenth century, but for the seventeenth as well, for without it the problem of the monarchy's freedom of action to nominate whom it wished without undue pressure from great aristocratic or ministerial families remains unelucidated.

Defining social groups in which to place English bishops proved even more

difficult than for France. But the author bravely attempted to do so; his results show that between 34 per cent and 53 per cent of all bishops named between 1660 and 1836 had such obscure origins that they could not be assigned to the rather too precisely defined social groups. To find an aristocratic resurgence, then, or the lack thereof, is of dubious value indeed. One wonders if the size and number of England's ruling families had grown so small that they failed to supply enough sons for these places. The reduced size of the English aristocracy, like the Venetian, may have made it possible for newer, lesser families to reach the episcopacy, especially as the aristocracy is defined here.

Other discoveries are made, but not discussed. English bishops, for example, averaged fifty-three years of age at elevation, while their French counterparts were only forty. Next, the length of tenure was nineteen years in France, and only eleven in England, which suggests that English bishops, on the average, lived five years longer than their much more numerous French brethren.

The book also includes summaries of older research on the nomination of bishops, making it useful to graduate students. But such anachronistic phrases as the French bishops being "not integrated into the nation as a whole" give a hollow ring to its otherwise acceptable conclusions. Neither P. Blet's *Le clergé de France et la monarchie* (1959) nor J. McManners' superb *French Ecclesiastical Society . . .* (1960) evoked for the author the hierarchical, regional, and even dynastic quality of society that still was the *ancien régime,* though both works are cited in the bibliography. The fault here lies not in the comparative history, but in a certain insensitivity or naïveté about how social groups are defined.

Columbia University OREST RANUM

THE MEANING OF "DEMOCRACY" AS USED IN EUROPEAN IDEOLOGIES FROM THE FRENCH TO THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION: AN HISTORICAL STUDY IN POLITICAL LANGUAGE. By *Jens A. Christophersen.* [Universitetet i Oslo, Institutt for Statsvitenskap. Skrifter, Number 5.] (New York: Humanities Press. 1966. Pp. xiv, 389. $8.75.)

BECAUSE it shows clearly the various uses and meanings of the word "democracy" by major and minor thinkers who are spokesmen of different viewpoints during successive periods in the modern history of major European countries, this work will be valuable for students of European ideas. It will, however, be especially useful to American students, who rather easily regard the concept of democracy, and certainly its institutional realization, as the peculiar product of American history and experience. While especially enlightening to those who see constitutional democracy as the sole article worthy of the name, it will also be informative for those who accept as genuine both the majoritarian and the constitutional varieties and even for those who are aware also of what is called totalitarian democracy and yet still relate democracy to representative government as a technique of counting rather than breaking heads.

The book is divided into two major parts. The first deals almost exclusively with individual thinkers, classified under such rubrics as radicalism, constitutionalism, liberalism, conservatism, socialism, anarchism, Bolshevism; and, where

appropriate, it discusses these at different periods since the French Revolution. That Revolution is taken to be the beginning of a serious concern with democratic thought and with the use of the word in a nonpejorative sense. Incidentally, it may be interesting to American scholars to note that the author finds the first serious user to be Robespierre, who relates it to revolutionary terror and concomitant violence. In the American context, such a correlation is startling, though it occurred infrequently in much of subsequent European radicalism, which is given a somewhat disproportionate emphasis here. Curiously enough, too, Tocqueville is not among those given systematic treatment, though he is frequently referred to. While his concepts of democracy were undoubtedly grounded in the American social order, they were, nevertheless, developed in relation to a European future and designed for European use.

A more general comment on this historical treatment is that it is in a sense an application of linguistic analysis, not too rigidly adhering to definitions, descriptions, and connotations of democracy in the various thinkers and movements covered. Throughout the period there are revealed a growing concern with the phenomenon, an increasing diversity of viewpoint about it, and ever more wide-ranging insights into it, as the changing and developing uses of the word show. There are not, as the author makes quite clear, a clear progress, evolution, or development of views and understandings of and about it; the uses of the words approbatively or disapprobatively follow neither a clear line of growth or decline nor a marked and meaningful cyclical movement. There are no historical curves to extrapolate; no predictions possible from period to period; no clear correlations, positive or negative, in the simultaneous or sequential use as between different ideological positions. In this sense the work does not lead to any generalization in the history of ideas; it simply indicates variety and diversity, perhaps with the suggestion that no schema is discernible and no prediction as to future use and impact is possible.

The second, shorter part, characterized by the author as systematic, comprises an analysis of the diverse major meanings of democracy and its relations of identification or opposition to such concepts as capitalism, socialism, and freedom; its relation to religion, militarism, science, and leveling; its use to praise and blame; criticism of supposed misuse; ambiguities in use; designation of political regimes that exhibit the concept; and frequency of use. These analyses do indeed expose the very vast variety of ideological mixtures in the modern world and show some of the fascinating possibilities of political argumentation in modern times. They also cast doubt on the degree to which it is a meaningful or useful concept, though they reveal how, where, in what contexts, and with what intentions it is used. Likewise, they suggest the extraordinary difficulties of effective scientific definitions and pose awkward questions as to how to use meaningfully a word that cannot yet be excluded, compatibly with relevance, in discussion of modern public affairs.

The author adds some interesting though all too brief summaries on usages of the idea of democracy by various modern analysts from Bryce to J. L. Talmon. This selection is unfortunately limited, and its introduction serves mainly to facilitate relating the author's position to those of modern or contemporary scholars and publicists, including the infamous Rosenberg, with whose treatments

the reader should already be familiar. A full-scale analysis in some detail of contemporary defenders, critics, and enemies of democracy on both sides of the Atlantic, and indeed throughout the world, might be useful and is perhaps necessary if the present volume is to have its full meaning and value from the perspective of current political issues and thought concerning them, since democracy is one of the constantly recurring concepts in their discussion.

The book has adequate notes for both documentation and subordinate discussion. Some of the latter are sufficiently interesting to warrant expansion into essays. A convenient and thorough index of references to proper names lacks subordinate differentiations, and there is no index of terms or concepts, though that would be extremely valuable for rapid reference to the varieties of usage and connotation and for ease in making comparisons between thinkers and periods.

University of Texas, El Paso THOMAS I. COOK

PRELUDE TO NATION-STATES: THE FRENCH AND GERMAN EXPERIENCE, 1789–1815. By *Hans Kohn.* (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1967. Pp. x, 416. $9.75.)

THIS book bridges the gap between Professor Kohn's major work, *The Idea of Nationalism,* and his subsequent smaller volumes on the nationalisms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Based on amazing, exhaustive reading of the literature, the book describes the sentiment of nationalism through Kohn's usual approach: illustrative short sketches of leaders and their views. Social psychologists, anthropologists, political scientists, and economists will find basic historical information for their generalizations, but they will not find the behavioral or quantitative analyses so dear to many of them nor, except indirectly, the Weberian models they hope to establish for predictive purposes.

The book is stronger on the rising German nationalism than on the French. "Napoleon [and the Revolution] became a midwife to the birth of the Age of Nationalism on the continent of Europe," but Kohn stresses the German forerunners: Friedrich Schlegel, Adam Müller, Heinrich von Kleist, Wilhelm von Humboldt, the Baron vom Stein, Fichte, Schleiermacher, Arndt, Jahn, Joseph Görres, and others. These representatives of the German elite, as Kohn shows, by no means agreed upon what Germany should be or upon nationalism. Indeed, some were not nationalists, but their views nonetheless foreshadowed the new Germany that was to arise in the nineteenth century. From Kohn's brief accounts I took many notes that will buttress my own lectures.

Kohn chose to present his findings in thirty-six chapters that originally may have been his own lectures, though in a few cases parts or all of the chapters were previously published as articles. The chapter headings do not always accurately describe the content. Kohn chooses, as he customarily has done, to put some of his best material in long, discursive footnotes. This is a hardship for the interested reader because the footnotes are backnotes.

As Kohn demonstrates his immense knowledge once more, one could hope that he would more often give us the benefit of his own reflections on the "whys" of nationalism. It is not new to say that "French nationalism was born in the

enthusiasm of a revolution. . . . German, . . . in a war against France. . . ." Kohn is among the scholars who have taught us this. But still one wonders why it is true. Perhaps there are no certain answers, but Kohn could give us informed hypotheses.

He refrains from drawing explicit parallels between the European nationalisms of 1789–1815 and those of the later Asian and African nationalisms since 1945. His self-imposed restraint may be wise, but there are striking similarities. Kohn thinks of his book as a "contribution to the comparative study of nationalism," in his view "the only fertile" way. But by design he devotes his attention chiefly to the experience of 1789–1815 as prelude to later French and German nationalisms.

I doubt whether the French Revolution of 1789 was as much the work of the middle class and the people as Kohn implies, and I am not as certain as Kohn that England "solved the problem posited by the French Revolution for the Age of Nationalism": how to harmonize individual liberty with unity of the state. These matters remain for further debate.

Kohn and Carlton J. H. Hayes were the great pioneers in the study of nationalism. We owe them much, for they laid foundations on which we still build. In this book Kohn continues to strengthen those foundations.

Macalester College BOYD C. SHAFER

MONARKHI PROTIV NARODOV: DIPLOMATICHESKAIA BOR'BA NA RAZVALINAKH NAPOLEONOVSKOI IMPERII [Monarchs against Peoples: The Diplomatic Struggle on the Ruins of the Napoleonic Empire]. By *L. A. Zak*. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mezhdunarodnye Otnosheniia." 1966. Pp. 375.)

THE "diplomatic struggle" referred to in the title of this book is the Congress of Vienna. With some digression, this is the proper subject of the book, and its organization, bounded by an introductory chapter on "The Vienna Congress in Historical Literature" and a concluding one on "The Vienna Congress and Russian Society," follows, on the whole, that of the well-known studies by Webster and Nicolson.

The general value of this serious work can be described fairly succinctly: it is in fact the first full-scale study to come from Russia, the last of the "Big Five" to be so represented in the historiography of the Congress. While it reveals no startling discoveries or interpretations, the book does introduce new perspectives and new documentary materials, mainly from the Russian archives. (In particular, some new evidence is presented on the Poland-Saxony question, on Scandinavian issues, and on Russian policy vis-à-vis Italian unification.)

The author makes some stimulating comments on the "class content" of the Vienna decisions. He devotes an entire chapter to the "Ideology of the European Reaction," but the overwhelming portion of his study is devoted to a solid, "old-fashioned" treatment of the diplomatic issues. This treatment tends to submerge under the massive weight of national self-interest the occasional thesis that the Vienna accords represented a compromise between "feudal" and "bourgeois" in-

terests. In other words, the sociological conclusions, while deserving attention, are not adequately substantiated in the body of the study.

The author displays a remarkable command of the international literature on the subject, citing works, both old and recent, in a half-dozen languages.

It is my dreary duty to report that, like so many Soviet books, the present work lacks a useful index or table of contents. It possesses only a brief list of proper names. The final chapter on "The Vienna Congress and Russian Society" is superfluous and superficial.

Stanford University TERENCE EMMONS

LE RELAZIONI DIPLOMATICHE FRA L'AUSTRIA E IL GRANDUCATO DI TOSCANA. Third Series, 1848–1860. Volume II (1 GENNAIO 1850–9 MAGGIO 1851). Edited by *Angelo Filipuzzi.* [Documenti per la Storia delle Relazioni Diplomatiche fra le Grandi Potenze Europee e gli Stati Italiani 1814–1860. Part 2, Documenti esteri. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1967. Pp. 543. L. 5,000.)

THIS addition to the growing and invaluable collection of foreign and Italian documents ("Fonti per la Storia d'Italia") deals with European diplomacy on the Italian question during the nineteenth century. Dr. Filipuzzi has carefully edited 273 Austrian documents drawn from the Austro-Tuscan diplomatic correspondence (January 1850 to May 1851) in the Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna. As was the diplomatic custom of those days, all these Austrian documents on Italy are in French. While 80 per cent are reports from the Austrian chargé at Florence, Baron Hügel, the other 20 per cent are instructions from Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, Austrian President of the council, to Hügel. There is much material here on such questions as: the Austro-Tuscan military convention, the Leghorn affair of British claims for damages, the Tuscan concordat with the Pope, the suppression of Tuscan freedom of the press, the repressive control of Tuscan theaters, the nonreactivation of the Tuscan Constitution (*Statuto*), the secret conference in Rome of the Italian conservative states, negotiations of agreements for railroad construction in Italy, and protests against the Mazzini loans. For fuller documentation on early Italian railroad construction, one should consult the files HHSA, SK, Ital. Staaten, Toscana, Admin. Akten: Eisenbahnwesen. In this volume we find how completely Austria controlled Italy after the victory at Novara in 1849: military occupation, internal repressive administration, diplomatic representation abroad, and railroad construction. According to Hügel, the Tuscan Habsburg Grand Duke asked that "je continuasse . . . à éclairer son Gouvernement comme par le passé sur toutes les questions difficiles et . . . me demandait la continuation de ma coopération et de mon appui." Although Austria prevented the restoration of Tuscany's Constitution, Filipuzzi still thinks that Radetzky's celebration of the anniversary of the Austrian Constitution in 1850 supports the editor's previous contention, in his *Pace di Milano,* that Radetzky did not ask for the abolition of the Sardinian *Statuto.* For those historians interested in biographical data there is much informa-

tion (1850–1851) on Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, Emperor Francis Joseph, Grand Duke Leopold II, Giovanni Baldasseroni, the Tuscan Prime Minister, the Duke of Casigliano, the Tuscan Foreign Minister, Lord Palmerston, and Count Alexander Walewski, the French minister to Tuscany.

As usual the list of documents with summaries, the editorial notes, and the careful index bespeak the exemplary quality of this Italian series.

University of Pennsylvania LYNN M. CASE

WORLD WAR I: A TURNING POINT IN MODERN HISTORY. ESSAYS ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WAR. By *Gordon A. Craig et al.* Edited with introduction and conclusion by *Jack J. Roth.* [Borzoi Studies in History.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1967. Pp. 137, vii. $1.95.)

"In sum, the problem of the First World War as turning point would appear to be basic to the meaning of contemporary history." This comment, developed in depth in Professor Roth's incisive conclusions, suggests the common theme of these essays, based on public lectures by Gordon Craig, Carl Friedrich, Charles Hirschfield, and Hans Kohn at Roosevelt University.

With customary *expertise,* Craig describes the impact of the conflict on war and diplomacy and concludes that it shattered the complementary relationship of the tasks of the soldier and the diplomat. "The art of warfare had been revolutionized by technological innovation, extended in scope, and given a pseudo-religious cast—and for all these reasons it had become more dangerous, more destructive, and much more difficult to get back under control once it had been loosed." Craig also deals with the significant changes in diplomacy, notably the expansion of the diplomatic community, the breakdown of the intellectual homogeneity of the diplomatic system, and the emergence of a new diplomacy. Small wonder that the interwar period became essentially a *dialogue des sourds,* in Craig's view, with depressing consequences. Kohn's superb discussion of the crisis in European thought and culture is keynoted by Valéry's acute observations. "The Mind has indeed been cruelly wounded; its complaint is heard in the hearts of intellectual men; it passes a mournful judgment on itself. It doubts itself profoundly." The deceptive aura of *la belle époque,* the growing intellectual ferment and disarray, the aesthetic appeal of primitive art, the cult of force, the outmoded social order, and the utopian schemes of renovation are but a few of the themes considered. Friedrich's essay reflects his prolonged study of totalitarianism. Addressing himself to the relationship between war and totalitarianism, he concludes that "no such regime arose or was foreshadowed by developments during the First World War." To be sure, the war helped clear the ground by creating considerable *anomie,* but the author prefers to view the war and totalitarianism as joint products of related forces in Western society rather than as cause and effect. Hirschfield's concluding essay on the transformation of American life emphasizes the fusion of ideal and self-interest, the nationalization of society, the nostalgia for a world beyond recall, and the search for a moral style.

University of Pennsylvania WILLARD ALLEN FLETCHER

THE RISE OF FASCISM. By *F. L. Carsten.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. 256. $6.50.)

Professor Carsten's book is the second major work examining fascism as a European phenomenon, the first being Ernst Nolte's *Three Faces of Fascism* (1963). Where Nolte was concerned with definition and classification of variations of fascist doctrine, and with the sociological implications of fascism as a continuing crisis within liberal ideological traditions, Carsten has written a political history of the rise and success of fascism following the world war.

Despite this difference of approach, both scholars take a historicist position, attempting to understand fascism rather than to condemn the criminal and loathsome in history. In keeping with this attitude, and with their agreement on the European rather than the national character of fascist theories, Carsten, like Nolte, rejects the conclusions of those historians of ideas who have concentrated on German totalitarianism as a unique movement growing out of an isolated and anti-European cultural tradition. Because of this, both books may be seen as examples of a shift in emphasis that has produced a new revisionism.

Apart from this important similarity, however, the two works have nothing in common. For Carsten, the rise of fascism owed little to doctrine and may best be explained as a result of the war. His treatment of ideological "precursors" is brief and concludes with the statement that their ideas were fast losing their attractiveness by 1914. Nolte, in contrast, saw fascist ideas taking shape after 1870, growing stronger in succeeding decades, and fascist leaders themselves as believers in a coherent system of social and political philosophy. Rivalries between many similar postwar movements, errors of judgment by the older leaders of liberal Europe, the impact of events over which fascists had little control, and a talent for maneuvering that was, in Carsten's opinion, essential to the success of fascists whose tactical abilities were far more impressive than their interest in political philosophy: these factors found little place in Nolte's analysis.

Yet a striking result of Nolte's methodology—a result that tends to support Carsten's more prosaic explanation of fascism's seizure of power—was that Nolte's sources undermined the thesis of his immensely thoughtful study. The historicist's desire to understand, even to sympathize, led Nolte to allow fascism to speak for itself. But from copious citations what was revealed was not men of doctrine but political leaders always willing to shift with the tide, to exploit events in whose making they had played little or no part. Nowhere was the contrast between analysis and results more apparent than in Nolte's own explanation for fascism's failure in France, and this despite Nolte's belief that the first and most impressive formulation of fascist dogma was that of the *Action Française:* the war was won by the enemy, by the republic under Clemenceau, France's leading "defeatist" for the writers of the *Action Française.*

Such conclusions reinforce Carsten's emphasis on the importance of the war for any investigation of fascism, and also his claim that no such thing as fascism existed before 1919. Upon this thesis Carsten bases his description of fascism's rise, emphasizing the German and Italian experience, but also comparing these examples of the exercise of power with fascist regimes in Spain and

in Eastern Europe. Always the stress is on political, economic, and social realities that account for the differences to be found, and on the outcome of the world war. Save for the chapters on National Socialism that utilize archival materials, the work draws on well-known published sources. But even here Carsten selects with much good sense and describes the complexity of political events with admirable clarity, giving the reader the best scholarly description of European fascism available.

University of Minnesota JOHN THAYER

THE FASCIST TRADITION: RADICAL RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM IN MODERN EUROPE. By *John Weiss*. [Major Traditions of World Civilization.] (New York: Harper and Row. 1967. Pp. xxxvi, 151. $2.25.)

FASCISM is "revolutionary conservatism," and fascists, however radical they think or claim to be, are socially conservative, leaning on a conservative intellectual tradition (organic and antiliberal), supported by conservative groups ("preliberal power elites . . . , reactionary industrialists, and elements of the socially frustrated middle class"). They are, in effect, "new conservatives," harnessing the fears and tensions of social change to their promises of order, translating (as in *Mein Kampf*) "the sophisticated ideas of aristocratic conservatism into the vulgar language of German lower-middle class culture," drumming up "a mass following for conservative racial nationalism," the last hope of conservative groups hard pressed by the Left.

Fascists come to power "where traditional ruling elites [are] desperate in the face of spontaneous social changes which favored liberalism and radicalism." Like "Sorel and other fascists," they prescribe and use terror and controls that they know "must be imposed if conservative values and interests [are] to be preserved." Totalitarianism and the single-party state, "invented" by Mussolini, are enlisted in the defense of "the sacred rights of private property." Witness the results of Fascist and Nazi rule: defense of conservative interests and values, terror substituted for reform, increased productivity subordinated to the needs of militaristic imperialism of a traditional kind, none of the ambiguity of David Schoenbaum's study of *Hitler's Social Revolution*. "In Germany under Hitler . . . by every standard, the exploitation of labor increased." There are no mitigating factors. Wherever "the cautious gradualism of traditional conservative theory is incapable of defending conservatism in swiftly modernizing societies," fascism can threaten. Today, it is most likely to appear in underdeveloped countries where privileged groups may adopt its totalitarian panoply to stifle challenges born of modernization, and secure for themselves both "the privileges of the old order and the advantages of the new."

This, roughly and briefly, is Dr. Weiss's thesis. It rejects the argument that fascism is truly radical and uninterested in preserving the established order, that national socialism really attempts to combine the two greatest appeals of our time, that fascist successes stem less from the needs of the conservative Right than from the failures and absences of the progressive Left. It confuses conservatism and reaction. It relates fascism neither to populism (or Bonapartism), nor to the formulas evolved and applied by Lenin and his successors. Its context

is set by the needs of ruling or traditional elites, much less by the aspirations of those who hope or call for change. It is clear, concise, and, to me, unconvincing.

Specialist readers will reach their own conclusions. I hope nonspecialists will balance its views with those of men whom it does not cite, such as Hermann Rauschning, René Rémond, and Ernst Nolte.

University of California, Los Angeles EUGEN WEBER

DER NOTENWECHSEL ZWISCHEN DEM HEILIGEN STUHL UND DER DEUTSCHEN REICHSREGIERUNG. Volume I, VON DER RATIFIZIERUNG DES REICHSKONKORDATS BIS ZUR ENZYKLIKA "MIT BRENNENDER SORGE." Edited by *Dieter Albrecht.* [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte bei der Katholischen Akademie in Bayern. Series A, Quellen, Number 1.] (Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald-Verlag. 1965. Pp. xxviii, 459. DM 45.)

DIE BRIEFE PIUS' XII. AN DIE DEUTSCHEN BISCHÖFE, 1939–1944. Edited by *Burkhart Schneider* in collaboration with *Pierre Blet* and *Angelo Martini.* [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte bei der Katholischen Akademie in Bayern. Series A, Quellen, Number 4.] (Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald-Verlag. 1966. Pp. xlvi, 381. DM 48.)

THESE two volumes, on the exchange of diplomatic notes between the Holy See and the German government, 1933–1937, and on the letters of Pope Pius XII to the German bishops, 1939–1944, are part of a new project by the Commission on Contemporary History of the Catholic Academy of Bavaria. Two series, one of sources (Series A), the other of monographs (Series B), will, once completed, present a comprehensive history of German Catholicism in modern times.

Series A will deal initially with three main problems: the relationship between Church and state, 1933–1945; the attitude of German Catholics toward the National Socialist regime; and German Catholic emigration during the Nazi period. Each series will go beyond the interwar period, as well as reach back into the nineteenth century. The volumes reviewed here are limited in scope and time. Both deal with important problems: the consequences of the concordat, the status of the Church in Germany, and the problems faced by the Holy See during the Second World War.

By signing the concordat with Germany, the Vatican was first to conclude a formal agreement with the new regime and thus certify, so to speak, Hitler's respectability. Officials in the Vatican and the German bishops hoped for a period of cooperation and stabilization between the Catholic Church and the Nazi state. As it turned out and as is amply documented here, their hopes were in vain. Violations and infringements by local and state authorities started within a few days after the documents were signed. The ensuing struggle concerned the activities of Catholic youth organizations, the existence of Catholic schools, the training of priests, the publication of Catholic newspapers and periodicals, Rosenberg's antireligious agitations, and the foreign exchange trials with which the government harassed scores of priests and nuns. Under the circumstances and considering the overwhelming powers of the state, the Church had but limited means to meet this challenge. Submitting without protest most likely would have

meant the end of the Catholic Church in Germany. Alternatively it could have counseled open and active opposition; this too would have failed because the overwhelming majority of German Catholics were sufficiently patriotic and nationalistic to reject such a course out of hand. There remained, then, the road of quiet diplomacy, so eminently suited to the then Cardinal Secretary of State Eugenio Pacelli. By pointing out the numerous violations and by reminding the German government of its failures to fulfill its obligations under the concordat, the Church in Germany assumed essentially a defensive position, but one from which it still could operate with some success.

Pope Pius XII's letters to the German bishops have appeared earlier in the new series of Vatican documents (*Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la seconde guerre mondiale*) and have been translated and reissued (with some minor changes as noted in the introduction) in the Bavarian series because of their great interest to German readers. This one-sided correspondence (the letters of the bishops are referred to in editorial notes and footnotes) deals with the situation of the Church in Germany, the issues of war and peace, Vatican neutrality, and the fate of prisoners of war, refugees, and minority groups. The documents illustrate a small but important area of the Pope's many-sided wartime activities. One interesting episode concerns Pius XII's letters of sympathy to the Belgian and Dutch royal families on the occasion of the German invasion of their countries in May 1940. When German officials complained that no similar letters had been sent to the Abyssinian and Albanian rulers when Italy had invaded those countries, the Pope replied that these cases were not at all similar because these sovereigns "had no diplomatic relations with the Holy See."

Both volumes give us a welcome, though limited, addition of basic source materials to an interesting and controversial subject. The editors have provided excellent introductions and extensive footnote and bibliographical references. Many more volumes are required, however, before we will have a complete picture of the Catholic Church in Germany in modern times.

Washington, D. C. GEORGE O. KENT

LA FINLANDE DANS L'ÉTAU GERMANO-SOVIÉTIQUE, 1940–1941. By *Heikki Jalanti*. [Histoire et société d'aujourd'hui.] (Neuchatel: Éditions de la Baconnière. 1966. Pp. 380. 40 fr. S.)

THE stated purpose of Dr. Jalanti's study is to clear up the question of how Finland in June 1941 found itself involved on Germany's side in the attack on the Soviet Union. Others have tried to do this before. Those who came closest to succeeding were the American, Earle F. Ziemke, and the Scot, Anthony F. Upton. The most ambitious previous Finnish effort was made by Arvi Korhonen, who, like Ziemke, used contemporary German diplomatic and military records extensively, but, unlike Ziemke, permitted his judgment to be swayed too much by postwar Finnish testimony, notably when the latter put Finland's wartime policy in a more desirable light than did the German records.

Jalanti falls short of his purpose by a considerable distance. The reason for this is twofold. He has not attempted to work his way through the massive German records that remain the most important source of information on

Finnish-German relations in 1940–1941, and he relies too much on the analysis and conclusions presented earlier by Korhonen, the grand old man among Finnish historians. Korhonen's opinions turn up with remarkable consistency in Jalanti's book, which essentially can be characterized as a catalogue of the facts, or fictions, of this story already published by others. It is not an original contribution to historical knowledge, although it earned for its author a doctorate from the Sorbonne. Most of his primary source materials consist of the records of the 1945–1946 war guilt trials in Helsinki, a body of information that falls in the same questionable category as the transcripts of the Nuremberg Trials.

The author retells the story of how Finland, "le jouet des événements," was forced by unbearable Soviet pressure to respond to German initiatives for cooperation, eventually being "dragged into the war" against its will, trying to stay neutral until Russian bombs fell on June 25, 1941. This, the standard Finnish version, is only half the story. The other half includes Finland's efforts, triggered by a fear of sharing the fate of the Baltic States, to gain entry into the German orbit in the summer of 1940; the developing Finnish-German military collaboration after February 1941; the diplomatic collusion aimed at frustrating Soviet policies throughout the winter; and the Finnish commitment of early June 1941 to attack the Soviet Union on dates and against targets to be determined by Germany, a commitment subsequently endorsed by President Ryti.

Jalanti still wonders what would have happened had the Russians not bombed Finland. The answer is simple: Finland would have attacked on the appointed dates. The evidence of this is overwhelming. Under the existing circumstances, Finland probably had no alternatives to the policy adopted, but the facts ought to be told.

University of Wisconsin H. Peter Krosby

TUDOR HISTORICAL THOUGHT. By *F. J. Levy*. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1967. Pp. xii, 305. $6.50.)

The subject of historical writing in sixteenth-century England has heretofore been explored in depth by scholars concerned primarily with individual authors or with the subject as a reflection of other historical developments. Professor Levy has now brought together the work of the specialists, including his own on Camden and Daniel Rogers, in a comprehensive and superbly organized study. Instead of writing a chronological survey, he has wisely chosen to consider the various facets of the subject separately: the contribution of humanism, the effect of the English Reformation, the development of antiquarianism, the persistence of the chronicle tradition, the significance of popularization, especially the drama, and finally the emergence of "politic history" in the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean years. Each facet can thus be studied for itself, but Levy never allows the reader to lose sight of the close relationships among them. The result is a series of essays tightly woven together into a larger essay greater than the sum of its parts.

Levy begins his study with an examination of the fifteenth-century chroniclers. The medieval chronicle tradition, with its failure to grasp the essential difference between past and present, was long in dying. Holinshed, a century

after Caxton's printing of the *Polychronicon,* was still writing history "by agglomeration." The extremely popular sixteenth-century chroniclers merely added material contributed by the humanists and antiquarians, apparently unaware of their new methods and standards. More's biography of Richard III, for instance, was incorporated intact again and again with no indication that the chroniclers were influenced at all by his radical use of psychology or his stress upon a dominant theme.

The humanists' sense of anachronism, however, did bring about a basic change, though much later than one might expect. Levy points out that while the concept of anachronism is to be found among the Italian humanists even before Valla, its introduction to England had to await the pioneering efforts of John Colet and Erasmus. Even then, its general acceptance was extremely limited. He credits the major step forward to the English reformers, culminating in the defense of the English Church by Jewel and his contemporaries. Not until the end of the century, however, with the work of the secular historians, Stow and Camden, was the principle accepted as a matter of course.

Since so much of Levy's book is based on widely scattered sources, frequently in periodicals not commonly cited in historical bibliographies, and since there is no section on the writing of history in Conyers Read's Tudor bibliography, the addition of a comprehensive bibliography of Tudor historical writing of the sort that Levy is so eminently qualified to offer would have been most welcome.

Denison University W. M. Southgate

THE ELIZABETHAN WORLD. By *Lacey Baldwin Smith.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1967. Pp. 285. $6.50.)

Mr. Smith has published two books in 1967: one the volume under review, the other a larger book built around handsome illustrations, *The Horizon Book of the Elizabethan World.* The texts of the two volumes are almost identical, though not quite, and the relation is unclear. It is probable that the larger work represents a revision, for its literary style is clearer, simpler, and much the better of the two. Both volumes, despite their titles, range over continental as well as English history throughout the sixteenth century.

The Elizabethan World is not addressed to scholars but to the general reader, and it should be judged as a piece of popular history. The author is well informed and could have written an excellent book. Unfortunately, however, he has spoiled his work by his flamboyant and sensational literary style that constantly stresses the bizarre and the exotic. Mary Stuart is said to have acted "like a guttersnipe"; the Politiques in France are called disciples of "belly-wisdom"; James I "manifested such unkingly habits as drivelling at the mouth, picking his nose, and closeting himself with pretty young men." The Renaissance, it is said, inspired beardless boys (though most of them wore beards), who "carved out their kingdoms in the sky." Words are used very strangely. In the religious strife of the time "conscience was proving to be thicker than blood"; reformers regarded the Church of England as "a putrefied old oak in desperate need of purification and redemption"; the Scots found Calvinism "peculiarly congenial to the black independence of their clannish souls and highland fast-

ness." How thick is conscience, how does one redeem an oak, and why is independence black? The author contradicts himself. We are told that Loyola was a man of "iron will and inflexible conviction," but two pages later we hear of "the tempered and flexible will of Ignatius Loyola." Although the book contains many factual errors, these are less serious than the lack of explanation of why things happened as they did and the tendency to combine legend with fact in such a way that an unsophisticated person might well mistake the one for the other. The book is poorly organized. In short, the general reader, having learned little, will carry away impressions that are distorted and confused.

University of Minnesota DAVID HARRIS WILLSON

THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION OF 1688. By *Maurice Ashley*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. [1967.] Pp. 224. $4.95.)

MAURICE Ashley, former editor of the BBC's *The Listener* and now research fellow at the University of Loughborough, here skillfully adapts the biographical approach of his Cromwellian studies to the revolutionary era. William III, who has come less and less to resemble Macaulay's portrayal—coldly deferential to the Englishman's yearning for liberty and Protestantism—is developed into the grand manipulator of the Glorious Revolution. Ashley feels that as early as 1681 William may have entertained the idea of invasion, which is far too early according to Stephen Baxter's recent biography of William. The Prince agonizes over the Monmouth affair and James's seeming closeness to France (unfounded, according to Ashley). The possibility of a successful republican resurgence, nurtured by James's growing autocracy, would not only revive the Commonwealth's old maritime hostility to Holland, but would cancel out his wife's wearing of an English crown. Anglo-Dutch relations had thus to be resolved, from William's perspective, by forceful intervention.

While Ashley does not repeat Lucile Pinkham's bold but incautious assertion (1954) that William desired the crown for its own sake, he, like Baxter, places most of the success of the crucial gamble of 1688 on William's intelligent assessment and dedicated resolution. Trevelyan's Glorious Revolution, magnified into a united national undertaking, is now more accurately confined. Ashley remains true to the Whig tradition, however, once he gets William safely into London. Parliament's "offer" of the crown, just as in the textbooks of old, is emphatically conditional, and limited monarchy is supposedly born. Even David Ogg, Ashley's tutor, felt that such limitations were far less potent than were William's actual powers, and that they were consonant with traditional constitutional theory. Ashley's failure also to note that the "social contract" clause was omitted from the Bill of Rights is misleading, giving the impression that Commons forced the Lords, and the nation, to "swallow the concept." Nor was the comprehension bill, alternative to the Toleration Act, "rejected" as Ashley states. It simply was tabled and never reached a final vote.

As an essay on William's role in the period 1677–1688, Ashley's volume is highly thematic, brisk, and lucid, evoking the immediacy of any current international crisis. Though this is one of many approaches from the vantage of kings, courts, and cabals, its emphasis on princely duty and religious dedication, archaic

in other revolutionary settings, will distinguish Ashley's work as one of the ablest delineations of statecraft behind the "glorious deliverance" of 1688.

University of Delaware GERALD M. STRAKA

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ISAAC NEWTON. Volume IV, 1694–1709. Edited by *J. F. Scott.* (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Royal Society. 1967. Pp. xxxii, 577. $38.50.)

A DEFINITIVE assessment of the seventeenth-century scientific world's paramount figure awaits the digestion of Sir Isaac Newton's manuscript remains by the scholarly community. The Royal Society and the Cambridge University Press are aiding this process by supporting the publication of Newton's substantial correspondence, intelligently supplemented by related manuscripts and letters of associated scientific men. This fourth volume appears under the editorship of J. F. Scott, who succeeded the late H. W. Turnbull.

It comprises correspondence and related manuscripts covering the period 1694–1709, a remarkably diversified period in Newton's career. It was during this time that Newton became Warden of the Mint and president of the Royal Society, pursued his investigations of lunar and cometary theory, and published his vastly important *Opticks.*

Newton's association, and subsequent acrimonious relationship with John Flamsteed, the King's Astronomer, is amply recorded in the many letters between the two men, and in Flamsteed's diary notes and letters to third parties. A picture of Newton's service at the mint is likewise provided by his letters to Godolphin and various others.

What is disappointing to the historian is the paucity of materials relating to Newton's growth, in the public eye, as a natural philosopher and statesman of science. We learn little, for example, of Newton's presidency of the Royal Society or of his short tenure as member of Parliament. Nor do we learn much about the publication of the *Opticks,* apart from John Wallis' entreaties to Newton for its publication during the 1690's. Equally disappointing is the absence of any information regarding Newton's changing views on gravity, apart from the tantalizing note by David Gregory that it is "Mr. Newton's belief that it [gravitation] does not occur by mechanical means, but was introduced originally by the Creator." Newton appears to have abandoned this view by 1717. Perhaps later volumes of the correspondence will provide further clues.

Scott's edition is copiously, perhaps even too fully, annotated. Letters in the possession of various sources (libraries, record offices, societies, and private persons) were included. The press is to be congratulated for the superb physical appearance of the book and for the inclusion of the six handsome plates.

Johns Hopkins University ROBERT KARGON

JONATHAN SWIFT AS A TORY PAMPHLETEER. By *Richard I. Cook.* (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1967. Pp. xxxiv, 157. $6.95.)

FOR almost all of Swift's biographers, and especially those considering him primarily as a literary man, those years of his life that he devoted to politics and

pamphleteering have produced difficulties. The four years he gave to the Tory cause (1710–1714) were to him the most exciting and satisfying of his life. Yet the writings he produced contributed less to his ultimate stature as a literary figure than those of the 1690's or those of the 1720's. In view of his demonstrable success as a Tory pamphleteer, is Swift to be discussed as a political controversialist who is now better known as a satirist, or does justice require that we think of him between 1710 and 1714 as on a furlough from his career as a satirist, to which he would soon return?

Neglect of this problem has led to a similar neglect of Swift's political writings as writings, and Mr. Cook seeks to repair this oversight. In *Jonathan Swift as a Tory Pamphleteer,* he undertakes to study Swift's rhetorical and stylistic methods as a political controversialist. If one misses a steady, coherent development of this subject, it is because six of the nine chapters have appeared separately elsewhere, and the synthesizing problems were greater than the other three chapters were able to cope with, skillful though they are. The general focus of the book is, however, clear. Cook has brought a lively mind to bear on the tracts and pamphlets themselves and has produced a genuinely critical account of their effectiveness.

Astutely, he begins with two chapters on the kinds of audience for which Swift wrote, at the beginning of his career and later. It is useful to keep in mind that the early *Contests and Dissensions* pamphlet and *The Battle of the Books* were written for a small circle of nonprofessional men of learning and that *The Sentiments of a Church of England Man* (1708) and *A Project for the Advancement of Religion* (1709) were written for a large audience of middle-class readers. The stylistic consequences of this change in audience are well described and illustrated, though not everyone will agree that "by 1708, the reception accorded the *Tale of a Tub* had obliged Swift to reconsider the nature of his intended audience and the sorts of moral ends towards which his work might be applied." Cook is on more certain ground in the second chapter, where he describes the difference in mentality and temperament between the Tory "Landed Men" and the "Monied Interest," which formed the backbone of the Whig party. Not only does Cook show how Swift geared his style to the Tory squires and their adherents, but he is also able to supply valuable evidence from contemporary correspondence to show that *The Examiner* and *The Conduct of the Allies* were successful parts of a calculated propaganda campaign.

From a purely literary point of view, Chapters III and V are perhaps the most interesting. Following Aristotle's division of the means of persuasion into two kinds of proofs, Cook is able, in Chapter III, to describe Swift's polemical methods with great clarity. In Chapter V he is equally successful in treating Swift's skill at handling the satiric "character" as a polemical device.

The chapter on "Swift and Defoe" is more valuable as a contrast between two men's careers than between their pamphleteering styles, it being impossible to present Defoe in enough detail to make a balanced comparison between the two men as stylists. Like the introductory chapter, it is not quite gauged to the background of either the expert in the period or the novice. Nevertheless, by describing the different circumstances under which Defoe wrote and the difference in the audience he was trying to reach, Cook accounts quite persuasively for the

greater daring of Swift's controversial methods. The most sustained analysis of the techniques of *The Examiner* comes in this chapter, where two of Swift's most ingenious onslaughts on the Duke of Marlborough are described.

Williams College ROBERT J. ALLEN

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO ANSON'S VOYAGE AROUND THE WORLD, 1740–1744. Edited by *Glyndwr Williams*. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, Volume CIX.] ([London:] the Society. 1967. Pp. xiii, 303. 50*s*.)

THE English had never forgotten Drake's voyage around the world and his capture of the Manila galleon. When, then, war with Spain became imminent in the tense summer of 1739, it was decided to consider sending ships to take the treasure galleons sailing between Acapulco and Manila. Sir Robert Walpole listened to various elaborate proposals, but decided to send only a small expedition into the Pacific. George Anson, an experienced captain of forty-one, was selected to command the venture. While the expedition was greatly reduced from first plans, it was, nevertheless, no small undertaking. The squadron consisted of six warships and two merchant supply vessels. Anson's flagship was the powerful sixty-gun *Centurion,* and it was accompanied by *Gloucester* and *Severn,* each with fifty guns, the smaller *Pearl* and *Wager,* and the sloop *Tryal.*

If the ships were adequate, the personnel was deplorable, and Anson's expedition was left with the dregs. Wretched seamen were supported by a military contingent consisting of old, invalid pensioners from Chelsea Hospital and 210 raw marines.

After maddening delays the squadron finally sailed in mid-September 1740. The late start meant rounding Cape Horn at the worst possible season. Only the battered *Centurion, Gloucester,* and *Tryal* limped into the rendezvous at Juan Fernández. The others, except for the *Wager,* which was wrecked, were forced to turn back.

With the remnants of his fleet Anson left Juan Fernández in September 1741, destroyed much Spanish shipping, captured and sacked the town of Paita, and waited for the Acapulco galleon. The galleon was wisely kept in port, and Anson, after scuttling his remaining ships and prizes, sailed for Macao where he arrived in November 1742. Hundreds of men had died of scurvy. Only 210 were left to man the *Centurion.*

Anson, refitting under great difficulties, left Macao in April 1743, ostensibly bound for England. Instead he sailed for the Philippines and intercepted the galleon *Covadonga* bound for Manila. After a brief engagement, the *Covadonga* with nearly £400,000 of treasure was captured. The *Centurion* then sailed for home, arriving in England in June 1744. In spite of the dreadful losses to scurvy, the capture of the galleon was a bright spot for the English in a rather drab war.

This valuable book thoroughly documents, from contemporary letters, newspapers, and journals, the events leading up to and subsequent to the expedition, as well as the voyage itself.

Peabody Museum of Salem ERNEST S. DODGE

CAPITAL AND THE COTTON INDUSTRY IN THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. By *Seymour Shapiro.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 293. $9.00.)

Students of British economic history should find this work extremely useful, particularly in respect to its main theme: British credit facilities in the eighteenth century. The late Seymour Shapiro has drawn together, systematically and with informed judgment matched with clear presentation, the evidence on the conditions and the functioning of the capital markets, both long- and short-term, in the beginning years of the Industrial Revolution. The connection with the cotton industry, indicated by the title, is largely effected through the use of illustrative examples drawn from its great period of applied innovation and expansion. For the cotton industry, long-term capital was mainly put up from personal savings by the entrepreneurs and their partners, the latter drawn from a rather wide social spectrum, and expansion was financed from profits. Short-term capital was about half as much as long-term needs, but was more difficult to secure from the banks and other sources since currency was scarce in late eighteenth-century England. Shapiro suggests that the problems entailed in covering such matters as inventory, wage payments, and the time lag on turnover lay behind the variety of expedients that placed workers, jobbers, and others under involuntary short-term capital contribution. To establish the chronology of the British spurt in productivity, Shapiro has re-examined in Chapter I growth rates of population, production, prices, and wages from 1710 on, all in terms of national aggregates and decennial percentage rates of change. The cotton industry is comparably treated in Chapter VI. His evidence confirms again that large and sustained British industrial growth began in the 1780's. The study is reinforced with some twenty-six tables in the text and twenty-five more in the twenty-three appendixes, most of them constructed with immense labor from the best estimates and data available. Critical notes on data, used and unused, will be especially helpful to the beginning student.

Shapiro had completed the manuscript for this study before his death in April 1967. It was seen through the press by two friends, Robert M. Bardahl and Mordecai Melnitsky, who performed their tasks with exemplary care.

Tufts University Albert H. Imlah

HORACE WALPOLE: WRITER, POLITICIAN, AND CONNOISSEUR. ESSAYS ON THE 250TH ANNIVERSARY OF WALPOLE'S BIRTH. Edited by *Warren Hunting Smith.* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 358. $15.00.)

HORACE WALPOLE'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH SIR HORACE MANN. Volumes VII and VIII. Edited by *W. S. Lewis et al.* [The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence, Volumes XXIII and XXIV.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. 571; 545. $17.50 each.)

To avow Horace Walpole "a unique" goes no farther than to assert that, like Coke's Magna Carta, he hath no fellow. His correspondence, all compact of gos-

sip, *sententiae,* wit, and public news, describes the man and the world in which he lived, and so often recalls Charles Churchill's "fribble" on another subject:

> Much did *It* talk, in *Its* own *pretty* phrase,
> Of Genius and of Taste, of Play'rs and Plays;
> Much too of writings, which *Itself* had wrote,
> Of special merit, tho' of little note.

Without it the historian would be the loser. No less would Yale University, the font of this magnificent edition wherein scarcely a name remains unidentified or a circumstance left dangling and the beneficiary of substance for a hundred monographs and causeries, of which the volume commemorating the 250th anniversary of Horace's birth is but a sample. Here solid food, well if not excitingly prepared, is interspersed with contrived concoctions neither nourishing nor pleasing, concoctions that prompt the litany: from pedantry, verbosity, and inconsequence, *Libera nos, Domine.* What Horace himself would have thought about the least of these homages to W. S. Lewis can only be conjectured, though one can hear him saying what a pity there's so little wit in them.

It is a pleasure then to turn to the two volumes of that "magnificent" correspondence that John Brooke believes could have stopped the gap had Walpole's *Memoirs of the Reign of King George III* been lost. This "Andean range of the Walpolian continent," now in eight volumes with three still to come, here covers the years 1768–1779 (the dates on the jackets are in error) out of a total run of forty-five years, 1741–1786, during which span the two men never met. In Mann Walpole found both his man in Italy and a sounding board for his varied opinions. Unlike the extensive correspondence with the Countess of Upper Ossory, the present is an exchange, and, though commonplace, Mann's letters do facilitate the "narrative." Obviously the dozen years could scarcely be matched for excitement at home or abroad. They gave full scope to our Puck who could put a girdle about his world in forty words and in the process prove what fools its mortals were.

But malice or mischief alone would not give him distinction, and it is some measure of the man that in the years of "civil war," when he saw England sliding into decay and disgrace through ministerial ineptitude, he had little space for gossip. In these years he pays tribute alike to Chatham's magnificence and his own father's wisdom. In these years he sees America as a new country that will offer mankind a different outlook from that of Europe. In these years too his jeremiad has great relevance to 1968, for with little effort one could substitute Vietnam for American colonies. It is atmosphere not facts that this correspondence provides, and that in abundance. One need not dismiss the gossip, for even if it was not more than half true, as Chesterfield told the *soi-disant* Duchess of Kingston when she reported that rumor had credited her with giving birth to twins out of wedlock, it made the world go round for many people. Although "Wilkes and Liberty," foreign policy, ministerial changes, the American war (which Walpole saw lost five years before Yorktown), great men and great causes (or, if you prefer, little men and little causes) are necessary to doctoral candidates, a seasoning of trivia makes facts more palatable. It is diverting to learn who is cuckolding whom, to read that fortune, in a most jocular mood,

had made one family's marital matches with intent to "torment the Herald's Office." It is informing to learn that the extravagances of drink, dress, and gambling among upper-class youth prompted a response similar to drugs and love-ins today. So we might go on, mindful that Horace never wrote a letter without an eye to posterity and seldom one without its epigram which, wise or not, takes the reader into the center of the eighteenth century.

University of Missouri CHARLES F. MULLETT

EDMUND BURKE: THE PRACTICAL IMAGINATION. By *Gerald W. Chapman.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 350. $5.95.)

THIS reconstitution of Burke's ideas and his positions—on America, Ireland (and religion), constitutional reform, the French Revolution, and India—is distinguished in recent Burkean criticism as probably the least doctrinaire or polemical, and as the closest to Burke's frame of reference and his language. Chapman seeks no "system" in Burke's thought and finds none. He searches Burke's "particular judgments . . . for a characteristic activity, of which they are *ad hoc* expressions"; and he isolates that activity as the operation of "practical imagination"—"a peculiar fusion of poetic conception and literary brilliance, ethical awareness and religious reverence, preference for concrete inquiry and compromise, common sense and sense of duty," fusing and enlarging upon particular circumstances and principles.

The Burke who re-emerges is not unlike the Burke whose wisdom John Morley admired: the practical, reforming conservative in whom the empiricist "was constantly liberalizing the patrician." Chapman's method is what he calls "quotative," his presentation and examination of Burke's "particular judgments" are detailed and extensive, and his argument, within the limits thus imposed, is convincing. An opening chapter developing "The Organic Premise" and the concept of practical imagination as the key to Burke's achievement would function better as a conclusion, of which there is need.

Had Chapman's *Burke* been published ten years earlier, when it appears to have been completed, it might have had a salutary effect on the new image of Burke. Perhaps it still may, in spite of a major scholarly deficiency that makes it now appear as an unconscious anacronism. Nowhere, implicitly or explicitly, in preface, bibliography, notes, or substance, does Chapman hint that he is aware of, much less has used, any of the abundant Burkean studies of the past decade: the five published volumes of the new ten-volume *Correspondence* and the manuscript resources of the Burke center in Sheffield; the two-volume biographical study by Cone, which makes Chapman's work in part redundant; the prolific writings of the devotees of natural law, neoconservatism, Christian humanist anti-Communism; the *Burke Newsletter;* the work of the Namierite historians; and the dozens of special studies large and small. Chapman writes of Burke and America, for example, without the New York letter book or the O'Hara letters, of Burke and Ireland without Mahoney, of Burke and Montesquieu without Courtney, of Burke and India without Marshall, of Burke's rhet-

oric on the French Revolution without Boulton or Fennessy, of Burke's liberal conservatism without Graubard, and so forth.

There is much to be said for independence, even perhaps a certain isolation from contemporary confusion, in the critic if not in the historian. A simple statement in the preface, however, might have acknowledged this as a book of 1957, not 1967. The reader then would at once see it as, in effect, a reprint, he would adjust his expectations accordingly, and no doubt he would be pleased.

University of Iowa DONALD C. BRYANT

LORD NORTH. In two volumes. By *Alan Valentine*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 568; vii, 517. $19.95 the set.)

DR. Alan Valentine has devoted an impressive amount of earnest energy to the production of this biography. He has expended, he states, "a decade of intensive research" into every available archive likely to contain relevant material. He has waded through a mass of printed volumes of memoirs and correspondence, and he has consulted the great accumulation of monographs and scholarly articles relating to British politics during North's career. The result is two volumes containing more than one thousand pages which, the publishers assert, will last three hundred years.

A work of such dimensions inevitably assumes the character of a "life and times." In sheer bulk the "times" predominate. The major portion of the work is a rather uneven summary and synthesis of the current scholarly interpretations that Valentine has studied. He faces intrepidly the fierce historiographical controversies that color Georgian scholarship, but he finds no constructive way to resolve them. For example, after discussing the piquant problem of differentiating Whigs from Tories, he reaches this bland conclusion: "In the measures that it took and the support it received, North's ministry was certainly so far from the ideas of its Whig opposition that it would be less reasonable to call it Whig than to call it Tory." Valentine goes into great detail in many passages, but there are just enough errors to make the specialist shy away from the biography as a work of reference for the "times": Lord Mansfield's retirement and death are misdated; "Consols" appear as "consuls"; Sir John Rous, who proclaimed his hostility to the American war from the moment he entered Parliament, is typed as a "friend" of the ministry. Though the author displays sound historical judgment on many issues, he often spoils the effect with literary conceits. To say that Sandwich was maladroit in the selection and management of naval commanders may be a severe verdict, but it is scarcely mitigated by adding that "he could not turn mere ducks into Drakes." The maneuvers leading to the Fox-North coalition are deftly handled, but the reader's faith in Valentine's exposition is not secured by his insistence upon the fanciful metaphor that Eden and Wedderburn were "North's Rosencrantz and Guildenstern." All things considered, however, the "times" provide a firm and well-articulated, if rather overornate, setting for the "life."

Valentine knows his man intimately. The amiable, dilatory, indolent North re-emerges, but the author's diligent labors in the archives have enabled him to brighten and highlight facets of character that have remained obscure to previous biographers. The faithful, pliant North, reluctant to ask favors directly, was not

above tricking his King into giving his half brother the wealthy bishopric of Winchester. Though not as rapacious as a Grenville or a Walpole (or his own father), the Prime Minister did well by himself and his relatives. In this regard Valentine rightly concludes, "North's real significance is as a symbol of his society." A child of the Pelhamite era, he considered the maneuvers of politics as their ultimate purpose. Valentine adds nothing to our knowledge of North as a financier—an aspect of his career that merits further treatment—but it becomes abundantly clear that for "the Noble Lord in the Blue Ribbon" a good budget was whatever scheme he could get through Parliament with the least difficulty. He was, in finance as in all things, a generous, peace-loving, landed gentleman who was obliged to devote most of his career to coping unhappily with the demands and quarrels of others.

Yale University ARCHIBALD S. FOORD

THE JOURNALS OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK ON HIS VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY. Volume III, THE VOYAGE OF THE *RESOLUTION* AND *DISCOVERY,* 1776–1780. In two parts. Edited by *J. C. Beaglehole.* [Hakluyt Society, Extra Series Number 36.] (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Society. 1967. Pp. ccxxiv, 718; viii, 724–1647. $47.50 the set.)

PROFESSOR Beaglehole's monumental edition of the documents that record the three Pacific voyages of discovery of Captain James Cook from 1768 to 1780 nears its end with this sumptuous presentation of the last voyage. Turning from the South to the North Pacific, the expedition swept both shores, being stopped in two successive summers by pack ice at 70° north in the search for the Northwest Passage, but it discovered the Hawaiian Islands and for the first time mapped the coasts of Canada, Alaska, and the Aleutians. The shores of the Pacific Ocean and many of its islands were now substantially known.

The first volume of this edition of the complete Cook *Journals* first appeared in 1955; Volume II came out in 1961. For this last and longest voyage, the editor has used the logs and journals of some thirty persons, eight published reports, official and unofficial, some eighty-four charts, and several hundred drawings by the two official artists. Beaglehole has been allowed space to print the complete journals of the successive commanders—Cook, Clerke, and King—and of the surgeons—Anderson and Samwell—together with lavish citations from others. He has included a large number of illustrations and has previously published a portfolio of the charts of the three voyages. He has seen all of the documents, which are scattered in at least three continents. He has made many of the landfalls himself, especially in the Hawaiian Islands and on the British Columbia coast, calling on geographers, ethnologists, botanists, and zoologists for enlightenment. His introduction gives a masterful survey of the aims, the personnel, the life on shipboard, and the events of the voyage and their meaning, and his extensive footnotes amplify the text. The result is an unexampled perspective view of the events and the personalities; the purposeless murder of Cook, for example, takes on a new poignancy.

Credit should be given first to the government of New Zealand, which has

sponsored the project. Cambridge University Press has contributed its usual superb printing, and the Hakluyt Society imprint again justifies the devotion of the society to the lofty Hakluyt aim of "the search and discovery of the world."

Volume IV will sum up the voyages, giving the verdicts of specialists on the achievements: on Cook as hydrographer; on the ships and their maintenance (it is a shock to be reminded that the two vessels of the four-year voyage were of only 462 and 298 tons burden, respectively); and on the contribution of the voyages to botany, zoology, and ethnology.

For Cook himself, who remains Britain's greatest navigator, we look forward to the biography, independent of the edition promised by Beaglehole. This distinguished New Zealand scholar only last year supplied us with a third edition of his early substantial survey, *The Exploration of the Pacific* (1st ed., 1934). Of the great Cook enterprise that derives from it, we hope soon to say, *finis coronat opus.*

Queens College GEORGE B. PARKS

THE JOURNAL AND LETTERS OF CAPTAIN CHARLES BISHOP ON THE NORTH-WEST COAST OF AMERICA, IN THE PACIFIC AND IN NEW SOUTH WALES, 1794–1799. Edited by *Michael Roe.* [Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, Second Series, Number 131.] (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Society. 1967. Pp. lvi, 341. $7.50.)

AFTER the return of Captain James Cook's ships from his third voyage, news gradually spread of the fabulous profits to be made by selling sea otter skins from the Northwest coast to the Chinese in Canton. It was five years after the *Resolution* and *Discovery* returned to England before the first Englishman pioneered this trade. In 1785 James Hanna made the first such expedition, and it was successful. He was followed by Portlock and Dixon, Meares, Colnett, and numerous others, including the first Americans, Kendrick and Gray. The trade had been operating with varying success for nearly ten years when Captain Charles Bishop arrived on the scene.

Bishop's manuscript, which has been used by various scholars but never before printed in full, exists in two parts that were originally a single book. The voyage of the *Ruby* is in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia at Victoria; that of the *Nautilus,* his second vessel, is in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

Bishop was employed by Sydenham Teast, a merchant of Bristol who had invested in whaling, the African trade, and other ventures. The lucrative sea otter trade quickly attracted his attention.

Bishop sailed from England in the American-built ship *Ruby* in 1794. Besides the usual calls at the Cape Verdes and Rio de Janeiro, he stopped at the Falklands and then, after rounding Cape Horn, called at Easter Island on his way north. He arrived on the coast in the spring of 1795, and the following January he sailed for the Sandwich Islands for refreshment and then proceeded to Canton. Fur prices were low, and the venture was not a financial success. In mid-1796 he sold the *Ruby* in Amboyna and bought the *Nautilus* with which he traded around the South Seas and made one sealing excursion. The *Nautilus* voyage ended at Macao on August 18, 1799.

Following an excellent introduction are three sections devoted to Bishop's journal of *Ruby*'s voyage from Bristol to the Sandwich Islands. Section IV contains "Memoranda concerning *Ruby* Voyage," and Section V, "Memoranda concerning *Nautilus* Voyage." Unfortunately there is no journal of the *Ruby* beyond the Sandwich Islands or of the *Nautilus* voyage.

Bishop's descriptions are good, and the publication of his well-edited papers is one more important contribution to the history of the Pacific-China trade and of the Northwest coast and Australia.

Peabody Museum of Salem ERNEST S. DODGE

SCOTLAND AND AUSTRALIA, 1788–1850: EMIGRATION, COMMERCE AND INVESTMENT. By *David S. Macmillan.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xviii, 434. $12.00.)

BRITAIN AND AUSTRALIA, 1831–1855: A STUDY IN IMPERIAL RELATIONS AND CROWN LANDS ADMINISTRATION. By *Peter Burroughs.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 419. $13.45.)

HERE are two very different books about the early development of Australia. One is a study of private effort—Scottish settlement, investment, and enterprise in a distant corner of the British Empire. Though the theme of Scottish interests overseas is well known (in Newfoundland and the Maritime Provinces of Canada, in the tobacco trade of the southern colonies in the eighteenth century, in the colonization of Otago in New Zealand, and in Aberdeen investments in midwestern banking and railroad enterprises, to cite just a few examples), this is the first attempt at a full-scale analysis of the Scottish role in Australia. If the theme is old, David Macmillan gives it fresh life by the imaginative and thorough way in which he has tackled it and by the richness of the data he has spread before us. The second book is a study of public policy in an area of traditional interest to historians of the British Empire—the theory and practice of crown lands administration. Dr. Burroughs justifies another look at this old topic on the grounds that a generation of scholarship since the publication of the studies of R. C. Mills and S. H. Roberts requires a new synthesis.

The Macmillan study is divided into two parts. The first deals with the period from 1780 to 1832 and treats successively the Scottish background, Scottish attitudes and emigration to Australia, and the activities of the Australian Company of Edinburgh and Leith. Part II examines conditions in Scotland between 1832 and 1850, Scottish attitudes toward Australia, and the activities of the Aberdeen Australian companies. There are illustrations, a map, appendixes, and two extended notes. All of this adds up to a first-rate book, one that makes distinct contributions to the literature of both Scottish and Australian history. The analysis of Scottish business forms and the interrelationships between investors and managers is unusually good. Less satisfactory, perhaps, is the treatment of Scottish emigrants in Australia where, to be sure, the data are much more difficult to control.

Burroughs' complete reworking from original sources of a traditional topic is an excellent piece of revisionist history. He sets out to examine "the interplay between the demands of British policy and the response of colonial con-

ditions," and to assess "the influence exerted by Wakefield's theory of systematic colonization on imperial land policies." Western and South Australia, Van Diemen's Land, and especially New South Wales are the chief focuses for the elaboration of these themes. In the end, Burroughs comes back to a traditional position that "Colonial conditions were bound to triumph over imperial policy, however enlightened," but along the way he provides subtle and generally plausible corrections to the interpretations offered by such figures as Paul Knaplund, W. P. Morrell, June Philipp, Mills, Roberts, and others.

University of Illinois, Chicago Circle PETER J. COLEMAN

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND PARTY POLITICS IN BRITAIN, 1866–1914. By *Constance Rover.* [Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 240. $6.75.)

THE FIGHTING PANKHURSTS: A STUDY IN TENACITY. By *David Mitchell.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. 352. $7.95.)

DR. Rover's book is a carefully documented study of how women won the vote in Great Britain, the nature of the obstacles that blocked them from 1866 to 1918, and why it took so long. The main reasons she believes to have been partisan politics, the lack of strong conviction among many M.P.'s nominally supporters of the women's cause, and the decision of both major parties to treat it as an "open" question, "thus depriving it of the official support (or opposition) of either party." Consequently women's suffrage had no committed ally and no visible enemy. Another result of this policy was to deny its supporters the availability of "government time" in the House of Commons, and leave private members' bills as the only means of bringing the issue before the House. Support was further diluted by the conflict between universal male suffrage, which did not become a fact in Britain until after the First World War, and votes for women. Advocates of one cause did not necessarily favor the other, and their inclusion in one bill invariably weakened both.

Women had two real opportunities to win some form of enfranchisement prior to the passage of the Representation of the People Act, which gave the vote to most women over thirty in 1918. The first came as early as 1884, in an amendment to the Reform Bill of a Liberal government headed by Gladstone. There had been gradual emancipation of women in many areas, opposition had not yet hardened in the House of Lords, and the issue was enfranchisement of a mere hundred thousand women property holders. This would have constituted an admirable pilot plan, which would have allayed fears of a major constitutional change, and provided an entering wedge for broader enfranchisement later. The opportunity was lost because of Gladstone's opposition. Another came in 1910–1911, again under a Liberal government, and was also lost because of the Prime Minister's opposition; the conciliation bill went down to defeat because the Asquith government broke its pledge to the women; because the Irish Nationalists, fearing Asquith's resignation if it passed, also deserted it; and because Labour M.P.'s were absent because of unrest in the industrial areas.

The militant suffragettes achieved wide publicity and won some new support in the early years of their campaign, Rover thinks, but lost public sympathy

and some parliamentary votes in 1912, when they were going in for arson as well as hunger and thirst strikes. Nevertheless, she is chary of blaming them; it would have been less than human if some women had not resorted to violence in view of the shabby treatment accorded their cause by political leaders. The war, by hastening social changes already under way, made women's suffrage inevitable, not only due to *noblesse oblige* but because renewed demonstrations against and consequent imprisonment of women who had supported the war effort were unthinkable from any angle.

The author has presented her material in a series of parallel studies, dealing with arguments pro and con, tactics, developments in the political parties, and parliamentary maneuvers. The result is a highly informative work, based on solid research, in an area hitherto neglected by serious scholars, but it is not a book for the casual reader.

By contrast Mr. Mitchell's book deals largely with the flamboyant personalities of the militant suffragist clan who might well be called the "incredible Pankhursts." Only the first fifty pages are devoted to the campaign for votes for women, since the Pankhursts never returned to it after the war. Instead they spread themselves around the globe in a variety of causes. All four women—Emmeline, Christabel, Sylvia, and Adela—were gifted, indefatigable, and highly emotional. Their emotionalism has carried over to Mitchell's account, which is often purple in style and sometimes tasteless. Because the Pankhursts' lives were so scattered and far-ranging, his book is diffuse, and the background sketches of conditions in Great Britain, the USA, Canada, Australia, and Ethiopia necessarily somewhat sketchy. He has drawn on private papers and personal interviews as well as secondary sources, but the absence of any reference notes or documentation makes his book suggestive rather than scholarly.

Northampton, Massachusetts ELEANOR FLEXNER

SPLENDID ISOLATION: A STUDY OF IDEAS CONCERNING BRITAIN'S INTERNATIONAL POSITION AND FOREIGN POLICY DURING THE LATER YEARS OF THE THIRD MARQUIS OF SALISBURY. By *Christopher Howard.* (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 120. $6.00.)

MR. Howard has approached a historical problem by way of a semantic inquiry. He shows how isolation was something peculiar to Britain's position in the period 1894–1896, and how this was used to pressure that country into joining the Triple Alliance. "Splendid" isolation was, however, a Canadian invention, and it was picked up by the imperialist school in Britain with the underlying idea that in time of crisis, colonial loyalties could always be relied upon. Howard next inquires to what extent "isolation" was a consciously practiced British policy and what were its limitations. He shows by how many treaties Britain was in fact pledged to action, but how these obligations were held by Salisbury in his later period to be conditioned by circumstances and by Britain's constitutional inhibitions. He shows how little importance was attached, for instance, to the "scrap of paper" that was to play so great a role in 1914. On the other hand the needs of the South African situation led even in Salisbury's time to a renewal of the guar-

antee to Portugal and its colonies. It was indeed permanent combinations of Great Powers from which Britain stood isolated, and though this was imperfectly appreciated at the time, even this principle was breached by the Anglo-Japanese alliance.

Howard has drawn on a wide variety of sources, British and foreign, to document his points, and although his conclusions are not startling, his little book will make it harder for people idly to credit British policy with a traditional isolation from all Europe's affairs, for which there is little warrant.

All Souls College, Oxford MAX BELOFF

PHILIP SNOWDEN. By *Colin Cross*. (London: Barrie and Rockliff. 1966. Pp. x, 356. 50*s*.)

ALTHOUGH he may have been looked upon as "our Philip" by many loyal members of the Independent Labour party and then of the infant Labour party, Philip Snowden was clearly a difficult, often tortured, certainly complex minor politician in the history of twentieth-century British public life. For the Labour party, he was one of the courageous early pioneers, but it is not easy to escape the judgment that, despite his years of service as Chancellor of the Exchequer in Labour and National governments and a final, bitter translation to the House of Lords, the times had begun to pass him by even as he moved into high office. Temperance and free trade were so characteristically the key issues of his youth that somehow his insistence upon their overriding importance (to say nothing of the gold standard) in the 1920's and 1930's sharply revealed the fact that, unlike a Ramsay MacDonald or for that matter an Arthur Henderson, he showed little capacity for political and social growth after he had reached his middle years.

Some of this comes out in Colin Cross's rather thin, indeed almost cursory, account of Snowden's life. The best parts of the book, I think, are those dealing with the young Yorkshireman's upbringing and first political experiences. Cross's discussion of Snowden's later political career suffers from the same faults most observers have noted in his previous works. He presents a clear, almost terse, account of what happened, where it happened, and under what circumstances. But rarely does he probe very deeply, and seldom does he really give us much insight into the whys of Snowden's career. There is some effort, to be sure, to assess the role of Snowden's physical handicap in determining his personality, but whether it is on Snowden's attitude toward the First World War or on his behavior during the breakup of the Labour government in 1931 or on his envenomed relationship with Ramsay MacDonald, the author manages to tell us the story without producing very much more in the way of fresh perceptions than one can deduce from Snowden's own flawed autobiography, the early memoirs of a Hugh Dalton, or even such standard secondary works as Charles Mowat's *Britain between the Wars*. I do not mean to say that the book has no value. It is a useful enough sketch, but only a sketch, of a complicated man who suffered from many tribulations, not the least of which was a wife who, despite her fierce loyalty to her husband and her own active political concerns, must surely have been one of the greatest handicaps any Labour leader of his time had to bear. But we must still wait for a longer, more reflective, and more revealing

biography of Snowden, as we still wait, it may be gratuitously remarked, for Marquand's long-promised biography in depth of MacDonald.

Rutgers University HRW

DOCUMENTS ON BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1919–1939. First Series, Volume XV, INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND CONVERSATIONS, 1921. Edited by *Rohan Butler et al.* (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Service, New York. 1967. Pp. xxxi, 835. $19.00 postpaid.)

STUDENTS and scholars interested in the diplomacy of the period following the end of World War I have long appreciated the value of this series of British documents, which first began to appear in 1947. This latest volume comprises "minutes of international conferences and conversations on high policy" held during 1921. The major meetings covered are the Second and Third Conferences of Paris and the Third and Fourth Conferences of London. Also records of four other meetings are included, making a grand total of 117 entries. Use of this material is greatly facilitated by "Chapter Summaries" which list the topics covered in each discussion session.

The year 1921 was hardly one of decision, much less of diplomatic accomplishments. Rather, it was one of frustrations and of deepening difficulties. The problems to be faced were already very much in evidence at the beginning of the year and, in spite of four major conferences, little progress was made in solving them. German reparations and disarmament were probably first in importance and urgency, followed by the dispute between Greece and Turkey involving the whole question of the Treaty of Sèvres. Then came the question of a settlement in Upper Silesia and a whole spate of economic problems, especially those of Austria and Russia.

Scholars pursuing specific research projects related to these matters will of course want to follow the course of negotiations throughout the year covered by this volume. For persons of more general interests perhaps the most significant developments documented here are the growing divergence of French and British policies, especially toward Germany but also discernible in other areas, and Europe's reaction to the increasing diplomatic isolation of the United States.

Outwardly Britain and France remained friendly, but the differences between them were becoming acute. At one point Lloyd George was moved to warn Briand that Britain would only support French demands concerning Germany as long as they were "practicable," and at the end of the year he rejected Briand's proposal for an Anglo-French treaty of alliance that was to have been broader than the abortive treaty of 1919. His grounds were that the British people were not ready for such an extensive involvement in Europe.

As to the position of the United States, which had a representative at only one of the year's conferences, there was a curious ambivalence. At one point during a discussion about communicating to Washington the decisions being made, Lloyd George remarked that "He did not know whether the United States of America was a neutral, an ally or a belligerent." Whereupon Briand replied "half and half." And another time Briand said that, while he desired American approval of the policy toward Germany, he thought France and Britain should

design the policy so that the United States would not have to step in and take a preponderant part in Europe. Prophetic words indeed!

Southern Methodist University H. Russell Williams

THE MERCHANT BANKING ARENA: WITH CASE-STUDIES. By *Richard Kellett.* (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 182. $6.00.)

Historians usually associate the merchant bank with the development of international trade and with such famous banking families as the Barings and the Rothschilds. Today in London, a half-dozen merchant banks fit this image; they have been in existence for over 150 years. But in the present-day context merchant banks of any sort represent only a small fraction of banking activity. Perhaps the surprising thing is that this "peculiarly British institution" has survived at all and that in recent years it has acquired new vigor. The activities of the merchant banks in the last two decades are the main concern of Richard Kellett's book. The central theme that emerges is the reorientation of these banks as they adapted to the needs of modern industry. Until 1914 the banks stuck closely to their traditional role of financing international commerce. After World War I they concentrated on international lending, with heavy emphasis on loans to foreign governments. The disruption of the world economy after 1929 severely curtailed all international financial operations, and the merchant banks found little opportunity to compensate for this loss by shifting their attention to the home market. This pre-World War II decline was reversed during the economic expansion of the 1950's and 1960's. During this recent revival of activity, several important changes have taken place in the merchant banking sphere. The banks no longer depend so heavily on international commercial ventures and have become more involved in the financing of domestic industry. They now render more and more of the services of investment banks and assist their industrial clients in mergers and acquisitions. Another important change has been the relative decline of the family partnership, that traditional symbol of financial responsibility and discretion. The incorporated merchant bank has become increasingly important. Closely associated with this new form of organization are an influx of new managerial talent, an emphasis on new ideas, and a display of aggressiveness.

Kellett describes these changes in very knowledgeable fashion. He has drawn on the scholarly literature, public documents, and bank reports, and his treatment also reflects a firsthand knowledge of the industry. The book also has the unfortunate defects that often accompany close contact with a subject: the author tends to elaborate on details without much attention to the broader historical and economic setting. Consequently, the book is of limited value to either historians or economists. Students with a special interest in financial intermediaries may find it more relevant. They can find out who is who among merchant bankers. They will even discover in which banks bowler hats are still in style. They can learn something about what these banks do, even though they will not find any analysis of decision-making processes. The style and content of the book reflect the author's experience as a financial columnist.

Rice University Gaston V. Rimlinger

GUIDE TO IRISH QUAKER RECORDS, 1654–1860. By *Olive C. Goodbody.* With a contribution on Northern Ireland records by *B. G. Hutton.* [Coimisiún Láimhscríbhinní na hÉireann.] (Dublin: Stationery Office for the Irish Manuscripts Commission. 1967. Pp. 237. $8.50.)

From the mid-seventeenth century the Quakers played an important role in the economic, social, and intellectual life of Ireland. They engaged in almost every type of business, attempted to develop industries that might provide employment for the poor, and maintained a system of poor relief that aided both members and nonmembers. The Friends suffered much for liberty of conscience. They not only kept a record of their sufferings; they also sought to limit penalties by forming committees to scrutinize the Irish Parliament and to influence legislation. After the union, they participated in early nineteenth-century reform, especially in the antislavery movement. From the beginning, the Friends took an active interest in education and established a number of schools in Ireland. Ballintore, where Edmund Burke was educated, was closely connected with the Society, although not under its supervision.

The Friends paid careful attention to detail and maintained records of their yearly, half-yearly, provincial, and monthly meetings, of their committees for the care of the poor, of the certificates indicating unity and disunity. These records for the republic of Ireland are preserved at the meetinghouse in Dublin; the remainder are in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland. Both places also possess family letters and other manuscripts.

This volume is an account of the records available in the archives and a summary of the content of some five thousand letters and of twenty-four diaries deposited in Dublin. It includes also abstracts of wills, of deeds, and other documents, and a list of names in Irish Quaker registers. There are an excellent introduction and a useful index.

The *Guide* is most valuable to those planning to consult the archives in Ireland. It also provides a general picture of the period and facilitates research in numerous topics. The letters present the reaction of the Friends to the world in which they lived and to the intellectual divisions within the Society. Frequently, prices for food and clothing are given. The manuscripts are available, and it is possible, using the *Guide,* to request, for instance, the letters in which Brisbane commented on New South Wales before and after he became its governor.

San Jose State College Mary D. Condon

THE AGE OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT: STUDIES PRESENTED TO THEODORE BESTERMAN. Edited by *W. H. Barber et al.* [St Andrews University Publications, Number 57.] (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd for the University Court of the University of St Andrews. 1967. Pp. xii, 468. 63*s.*)

The *Festschrift* is traditionally a tribute that scholars pay to another scholar always with admiration and frequently with personal affection. In this instance the tribute is addressed to the fabulous Theodore Besterman who, by a long-sustained explosion of scholarly energy, especially in his studies of Voltaire, richly deserves the wreath offered him. Obviously, to itemize individual contributions

within available space limits is not possible; nor is it desirable. The relevant question to ask is whether the volume as a whole is held together by a central theme elaborated in its different facets.

If the title itself implies that such is the case, the reading of the essays belies the implication. The great majority of the articles, in their own right both learned and valuable, are essays by specialists for other specialists. They have a tangential relationship to the deeper substance of the *siècle des lumières*. Yet that substance and the scope of the Enlightenment are presented in an admirable synthesizing study, "The Age of the Enlightenment," by Robert Niklaus. Though it might well have served as the central core of the entire collection, the possibility, in my judgment, has not been utilized.

Briefly, what Niklaus does, by combining a bibliographical survey of recent studies with a programmatic statement of what it would be desirable for future works to deal with, is to restore to the Age of the Enlightenment the unity that it intrinsically possesses and also to emphasize by cogent illustrations its inner relationships, relationships that the philosophes, for all their divergences, were united in understanding. His point of departure is the reality of a parallel between the concerns of the earlier age and our contemporary preoccupations. Some earlier and exceedingly valuable studies have already focused on that theme, but not enough. After surveying critically what has been done, among others by Crocker, Mauzi, and Proust whom he singles out, he suggests the range of inquiries that should be made. These would include investigations of the precursors of the *Encyclopédie* and its contributors and, above all, of the basic interests and extraordinary diversities of the *Encyclopédie* itself. In conclusion he maintains that such studies would bring about a fuller recognition than now exists that "philosophy, the philosophical and critical spirit, can no longer be separated from science, history, jurisprudence and politics, nor confined to the realm of abstract speculation."

Perhaps he overstates the case, but even so, his point is well taken. It is in that vein that Robert Schackleton's article on the Encyclopedists and Freemasonry and Arthur Wilson's graceful and urbane essay on the concept of *mœurs* in Diderot's social and political thought were written. Also along that line of suggestion is Roland Mortier's lucid discussion of Voltaire and *le peuple,* interesting and suggestive if not entirely acceptable in its conclusions. Niklaus' desire for the attainment of a new view by cutting across divisions established by genres and disciplines is vigorously served by Peter Gay on medicine and the Enlightenment; he maintains that "medicine was not merely the target of the philosophers' scorn and the centre of their pessimism, it was also the object of their admiration and the ground of their hopes."

New York University LEO GERSHOY

THE EARLY ROUSSEAU. By *Mario Einaudi.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 294. $7.95.)

STUDENTS of Rousseau's thought used to make much of a supposed sharp contrast between the early Rousseau of the two *Discourses* and the later Rousseau of the *Social Contract,* but the current trend is to emphasize the essential unity in

Rousseau's philosophy. Professor Einaudi, who is in agreement with this general thesis, makes a useful contribution to the subject here. He recognizes the contrast between a denunciation of the *status quo* to be found in the *Discourses* and the principles of an ideal society as outlined in the *Social Contract,* and he sees that the inevitable tension between these two approaches is to be found in the same work, for example in the *Discourse on Inequality.* Yet underlying it all are the unifying moral principles that are the premises for both the analysis and the prescription.

The book covers the period from 1736 to 1756, with emphasis on the several years immediately following the decision in 1749 to write the famous first *Discourse.* The author's stated purpose is "to show how much of decisive importance Rousseau had said in the course of these twenty years, how indeed most of what he was to say later in his major works is to be found in this early period of vigorous polemics and creative thinking." A preliminary chapter outlines the contemporary setting and climate of opinion against which Rousseau was to react. Successive chapters then trace the development of his own distinctive analysis of his society, which he had begun to formulate, Einaudi points out, long before the decision in 1749 to answer as he did the question posed by the Academy of Dijon. Much of the book is devoted to a précis of the writings with commentary, and there is at times too much citation of other writers. Yet such a summary of the early writings, some of which are scarcely known, and such a review of recent research have value.

For Einaudi, Rousseau's ideas are "astonishingly relevant to twentieth-century problems." He finds particularly significant the ideas concerning those problems that the economic institutions of men have created. Rousseau is seen as being haunted throughout his career by the theme of poverty and wealth, by the decisive contrast between the poor and the rich. I find it hard to share the author's preoccupation with this aspect of Rousseau's thought. The Rousseauan analysis is compared with the Marxian, and on several occasions it was difficult to distinguish which was being discussed. But the concluding paragraph wisely contrasts Marx and Rousseau on the crucial issue of man's responsibility and freedom of choice.

University of Arkansas GORDON H. MCNEIL

TWO BROTHERS IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: ROBERT AND THOMAS LINDET. By *Huntley Dupre.* ([Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1967. Pp. xi, 174. $6.75.)

THIS is the second volume by Dupre on a prominent figure during the Terror. The first was a biography of Carnot, who, with Robert Lindet, was more responsible for the victory of the revolutionary army in 1794 than any other member of the Committee of Public Safety. This volume, like the former, leans heavily on French published sources, especially the works of Amand Montier, published in 1899. It is less a contribution of new research than a skillful weaving of the narrative of the French Revolution, embodying some of the recent interpretations, with the careers of the two brothers, Thomas, a member of the clergy, and Robert, layman and member of Robespierre's Committee of Public Safety.

The biographical information on Thomas is newer than that on Robert, but the volume will be useful particularly to students of the Revolution who do not read French. To me, the author relies too much on what the brothers say or write each other, and particularly on the various pamphlets of self-defense written by Robert during the Thermidorian reaction, without sufficient consultation of contrary sources.

I miss a bibliography. One can learn the printed sources from footnotes, but almost no manuscript materials are cited. Are there no papers in departmental archives? What has become of the collection of papers loaned to Montier when he was writing his volumes? Would the unpublished parts of Thomas' correspondence have given significant information on some points, especially for the years 1793–1794 since the published correspondence stops with 1792? The delineation of Robert as a conscientious bureaucrat, as incorruptible as Robespierre, explains his career during the Terror and his escape from death after the fall of Robespierre, yet twice the Thermidorians renewed charges against him. Thomas, a juring clergyman, nevertheless retired from an active role during the Terror. The volume leaves room for a more thorough investigation, at least for the years after 1793.

Hunter College Beatrice F. Hyslop

BAYEUX IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: A SOCIAL STUDY. By *Olwen H. Hufton.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 317. $10.10.)

In 1789 Bayeux was a town of ten thousand souls. Its economy depended on the service of a bishopric and other ecclesiastical institutions, income from land and office, and the declining activities of certain jurisdictions, all of which was inadequate: 30 per cent of the population lived a marginal existence, and 18 per cent were destitute and depended on ecclesiastical charity. In short, this was a precapitalist community with excessive population and nearly insoluble social problems.

Revolutionary reforms ruined whatever was viable in this situation. The Church was eliminated as a source of employment, charity, and spending. Bourgeois who leased ecclesiastical seigneuries and tithes and managed Church properties lost these sources of revenue. The law courts were reduced to a district tribunal. Owners of venal offices were inadequately compensated for their *charges.* Although nobles, *laboureurs,* and a few tradesmen bought Church properties, the mass of the inhabitants found in the Revolution a painful shrinkage of wealth and income. The poor suffered because the ecclesiastical welfare system was dismantled, and the impoverished new regime was unable to replace it. Bad harvests during the revolutionary years and the peasants' reluctance to sell produce for assignats made the subsistence problem chronic and often desperate. During the Year II peasants were terrorized by municipal commissioners and troops requisitioning grain, and under the Directory they were victimized by Chouans and brigands. By 1799 it would have been hard to find at Bayeux anyone who was grateful for the Revolution because the memory of it was identified with continuous misery and disaster. The main revolutionary issue was the civil con-

stitution of the clergy. This was settled under the Consulate, to the general satisfaction of the nonjuring clergy.

To summarize this book, even so inadequately, is to establish its importance. It is an excellent study of the Revolution in microcosm. Although Bayeux was not a "typical" town, it resembled, on a small scale, the Angers that John McManners has studied in his *French Ecclesiastical Society under the Ancien Régime* (1960), and it is profitable to read Hufton's and McManners' books at the same time. One thing that Hufton's study shows is that we need to know much more about property in office and the sociology of the law courts. Also apparent is the difficulty, for lack of documentation, of studying what happened outside the towns. On the whole, however, Hufton's work, grounded firmly in local and national archival sources and the multitudinous literature of French local history, is a first-rate contribution that deserves to be read carefully by anyone interested in what the Revolution, aside from its principles and pretensions, meant to people who had to live through it.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill GEORGE V. TAYLOR

THE ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC: THE PLACE OF THE MILITARY IN THE POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF FRANCE, 1871–1914. By *David B. Ralston*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1967. Pp. xiii, 395. $12.50.)

THE author based this detailed and informative study on his doctoral dissertation of 1964. It analyzes the protracted efforts to rehabilitate the French Army after the debacle of 1870. "Parliament was an inefficient instrument for effecting military reforms, yet the creed of a good republican demanded that all important questions be treated by the sovereign legislature." Ralston emphasizes the loyalty and circumspection of the French Army officers. They shunned politics, achieved an entente with the politicians, and never, he maintains, constituted a threat to the government of the Third Republic. The military leaders did believe, however, that an army ought to have "effective autonomy" in the management of its own affairs. They were moving toward this goal when the Dreyfus case shook public faith in the high command, and a decade passed before they recovered the lost ground. Then, as war clouds darkened, the civil-military balance tilted, and the politicians yielded. By 1912 General Joffre, as commander in chief, "had a greater degree of control over the functioning of the French army than any general since Bonaparte."

Professor Ralston writes a lucid, dispassionate, almost phlegmatic prose and confines himself strictly to the implications of his title. No attention is given, for instance, to naval affairs or diplomacy. The long struggle of the French high command for autonomy is brought to an arbitrary, not a historical culmination in 1912, with the legislators yielding control of the army to the generals. Ralston dismisses this unconstitutional abdication as "regrettable, but probably, under the circumstances, unavoidable." He fails to add that, during World War I, the civilian government reasserted its authority over the army and maintained that authority until victory. Jere Clemens King reconstructed this denouement in

Generals and Politicians, 1914–1918, a logical and chronological sequel to the present study.

Ralston's assiduous research in the library of the Ministry of War and the *Service historique de l'Armée* provided most of his documentation; four-fifths of his extensive bibliography is in French and the remainder in English or English translation. Long immersion in military memoirs deepened his understanding of "institutional" loyalty. Conceding, for instance, that "Mercier, Boisdeffre, Gonse, Billot, *et al.*," were "inhumane" toward Dreyfus, he adds the realistic extenuation that "Any social institution must on occasion require its faithful servants to act in this way, or it cannot function."

Ithaca, New York GEOFFREY BRUUN

THE SECOND RALLIEMENT: THE RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE IN FRANCE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By *Harry W. Paul.* (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 234. $8.50.)

A GENUINE rapprochement between Church and state in modern France required not only the maintenance of correct relations between the French government and the Vatican, but also a genuine acceptance by Catholics of the French Republic. It was often in the interests of governments of the Third Republic and the Holy See to establish a working relationship, but such a relationship was difficult to achieve because of the mutually hostile attitudes of French Catholics and Republicans. The first *Ralliement,* which occurred in the 1890's, failed because of this fundamental antagonism.

Harry Paul contends that a second *Ralliement* took place in the twentieth century under the auspices of Benedict XV and Pius XI. Between roughly 1918 and 1929 the Vatican and the French government were able to resolve a number of thorny Church-state problems. Diplomatic relations between Paris and the papacy were resumed in 1921, and the formation of diocesan associations in 1926 gave the Catholic hierarchy effective control over Church property in France. The resolution of these and other problems was due to both Popes' relatively friendly attitude toward the republic and to the declining influence of anticlericalism as a political force in France. This second *Ralliement* culminated in Pius XI's condemnation of the *Action Française* in 1926, which made it difficult for Catholics to continue overt anti-Republican activities.

Paul's thesis is not convincing. He does establish the fact that relations between France and the Vatican improved during the interwar period. The most rewarding feature of his book is the account of the intricate negotiations leading up to the renewal of diplomatic relations and the formation of the diocesan associations. But does this constitute a *ralliement?* The author does not discuss the Christian Democratic movement or Catholic response to economic and social questions; nor does he undertake to show the extent to which French Catholics as a whole were affected by the *Action Française.* He states emphatically that "the rechristianization of the middle classes" reached a peak in the 1920's without saying what effect this significant development had on French society and politics. The establishment of a working relationship between Paris and the

Vatican may have been a prelude to a second *Ralliement,* but such a movement culminating in a genuine rapprochement between Church and state would only take place when the vast majority of French Catholics had become Republican and democratic. The extent to which Catholics truly rallied to the republic is a subject the author virtually ignores.

University of Virginia ALEXANDER SEDGWICK

ERNEST MERCIER: FRENCH TECHNOCRAT. By *Richard F. Kuisel.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. x, 184. $5.75.)

ERNEST Mercier was undoubtedly important enough to merit a biography; he was active in the French economy as well as in politics. Kuisel sees him as atypical among French business leaders during the interwar years; he was a "perfect technocrat" restlessly seeking technical innovation, efficiency, and greater productivity. Under his able management, the Messine Group made France one of the major producers of electrical energy. He was also instrumental in the growth of the petroleum-refining industry there. In these economic fields he was a pioneer, and Kuisel observes that there is continuity between Mercier the technocrat of the 1920's and 1930's and the new managers of the 1950's. Given Kuisel's emphasis on this important role, one must wonder why he devotes so little space to his subject's business career, only 37 pages out of 161. This lack is unfortunate because Kuisel had access to the Mercier papers and to the recollections of several associates who consented to interviews. As a technocrat, Mercier was highly successful; certainly his innovations and activity deserve more careful attention.

Kuisel is chiefly interested in Mercier's political activities, but unduly emphasizes them; they were not successful and apparently left no trace or influence. In politics, Mercier, albeit controversial and an open target for Left-wing rhetoric, was a marginal character. Kuisel recognizes this failure. Nonetheless he feels that Mercier's activities deserve study, apparently because Mercier was a typically European technocrat who not only wanted technicians in high government office but also sought to change the values of society. Therefore the technocrat founded a movement called the "Redressement Français." It failed, Kuisel argues, because Mercier was politically naïve, sought to use it merely as a pressure group, and did not give it compelling power by winning mass support. The technocrat was certainly an antiparliamentarian and a fervent patriot. Although there was a trace of fascism in him, he was too individualistic to become a true fascist. On this point Kuisel might have investigated Mercier's Protestant background which might account for several deviations from the norm of Right-wing politics: his desire for an alliance with the Soviet Union, his refusal to collaborate with the Germans, and his eventual entry into the resistance. Relying on new and important sources, Kuisel ably banishes such myths used by the extreme Left to attack Mercier as that he was secretly supported by the Rothschilds and that he was a collaborator during the war.

Kuisel is sympathetic toward his subject. His is not, however, an official biography, and he is far more favorable toward the technocrat as business manager than toward him as *politique* and *moraliste.* He warns his readers against the

authoritarian elements of European technocracy and the "Redressement Français." Mercier went beyond verbal and legal attacks on the government when he encouraged De La Rocque's veterans on February 6, 1934, and, his individualism notwithstanding, he desired a stronger government to bring about a renaissance in France. All in all, the book is well balanced in its evaluations. It is an important contribution to recent French political history.

State University of New York, Buffalo Leo A. Loubère

VALLADOLID AU SIÈCLE D'OR: UNE VILLE DE CASTILLE ET SA CAMPAGNE AU XVI[e] SIÈCLE. By *Bartolomé Bennassar.* [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI[e] Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Civilisations et sociétés, Number 4.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1967. Pp. 634. 79 fr.)

This substantial, ably executed study of the sixteenth-century city that preceded Madrid as the capital of imperial Spain combines thorough archival investigation at Valladolid, nearby Simancas, and Madrid with a skillful application of the sophisticated analytical techniques of the contemporary French historical school to Castilian social and economic problematics. No other Iberian town of the period has received such lavish statistical dissection, and since the author likewise gives due attention to the surrounding countryside and its relations with the city, the book is a landmark in Spanish rural as well as urban historiography.

After relating Valladolid to the distinctive geography, ecology, and highway network of the Old Castilian Plain, Bennassar examines the provisioning of the city (with a population, in its peak years of 1540–1560, reaching 60,000–65,000), the effects of the presence of the *Real Chancillería* and the court, and the changing layout of streets and buildings. There follows a long quantitative and qualitative analysis of the components of, and cyclical and long-term fluctuations of, the population, a valuable contribution in itself to the understanding of Spanish demography under the Habsburgs.

The whole middle portion of the volume deals masterfully with economic developments, commencing outside the city with changes in cereal agriculture and viticulture and with the functioning of land mortgages (*censos*) in the rural-urban nexus. We are then given excellent treatments of such central topics as the tradition hampered organization and technology of Valladolid's industry; the highly unstable price and wage structure; the nature of the labor force; the financial system; and the mid-century debasement of the *censo* into a parasitic *rente,* with disastrous consequences for the peasantry. Here and elsewhere, the author explores factors underlying the persistent subordination of the city's businessmen to nobles and bureaucrats, factors characterizing the failure of the Spanish middle class to make significant progress in the early modern period.

The book's final section, on social and cultural aspects, concentrates on traditionalism and exclusivism in noble families, guilds, the professions, and the Church; the starkly contrasting lives of upper and lower classes; the results of a pervasive aristocratic psychology and style of life that emphasized display, entertainment, honor, and the dominance of the immediate present over rational,

bourgeois planning for the future. Less satisfactory, no doubt because of the inevitable limitations of the statistical approach, is the lack of treatment of clerical and monastic life, *Observancia* spirituality, the reformist and intellectual activities of such nationally significant centers as San Benito and San Gregorio, and the cultural role of Conversos and Alumbrados.

This is an important book. With its abundant new data and insights, its statistical tables, graphs, maps, and bibliography, it ranks at once among the major new studies that are contributing so richly to the long-overdue revisionist appraisal of the dynamics of the Spanish *Siglo de Oro*.

University of Virginia C. J. Bishko

LA POBLACIÓN ESPAÑOLA (SIGLOS XVI–XX). By *Jorge Nadal*. (Barcelona: Ediciones Ariel. 1966. Pp. 223.)

Lack of reliable statistical data on modern Spanish history remains acute, but slow progress is being made in certain areas. This is the first serious, professionally sophisticated study of the question of population in the field. Its author, Jorge Nadal, is professor of economic history at the University of Barcelona and the outstanding demographic historian in Spain. Nadal has heretofore been known primarily for monographic work in Catalan demography and economic problems in the early modern period.

This new general treatment of Spanish population, a work of synthesis, relies upon a great variety of previous studies. It incorporates a wide range of relevant material and discusses social, economic, hygienic, and cultural phenomena that have influenced population trends in Spain since the sixteenth century. Statistically, it is the most reliable reference presently available, and it presents a lucid critique of Spanish censuses, particularly in the earlier part of the modern period. Though it presents no startling new discoveries, its usefulness as a basic demographic guide to modern Spain makes it a welcome addition to the small but slowly growing bibliography of Spanish social and economic history.

University of California, Los Angeles Stanley G. Payne

THREE SPANISH HERETICS AND THE REFORMATION: ANTONIO DEL CORRO—CASSIODORO DE REINA—CYPRIANO DE VALERA. By *Paul J. Hauben*. [Études de philologie et d'histoire, Number 3.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1967. Pp. xvi, 141.)

This small volume deals with religious refugees from Spain who, during the second half of the sixteenth century, wandered through many countries in search of a haven. Mr. Hauben has an interesting topic that has not yet received the attention it deserves. Unfortunately, Hauben lacks certain qualifications to fill a real need. His understanding of religious questions and situations is inadequate. For example, Antonio del Corro joined a Calvinist church in Antwerp as a minister. When asked to condemn the Anabaptists and Schwenckfeldians, he refused to do so. In view of such unorthodox leanings one wonders why Hauben considers Corro at this stage of his career an "Evangelical Calvinist" rather than an "Evangelical Christian," as one of his sources suggests. In 1574, after he had

moved to England, Corro published the *Dialogus Theologicus,* which Hauben states shows a clear shift to Anglicanism. At this time the Puritans in Oxford and other places were engaged in an argument with the Anglicans concerning church structure. This would explain their treatment of Corro whom they charged with popish tendencies. Hauben, however, accuses the Puritans of raising a "false issue." Hauben mistranslates "il [Christ] se donne à nous en sa Sainte Cène" as follows: "He has given us the Eucharist."

Hauben is not meticulous enough with his sources. In 1563 Corro was connected with a Calvinist church in the Béarn, whose guiding spirit was Merlin. The latter wrote to Calvin about the troubles Corro caused them. Hauben attributes to "one of the leading scholars of Spanish Protestantism" (Eduard Böhmer) some judgments that occur in Merlin's letter. Merlin speaks in the same letter about the controversy related to whether Corro was lawfully elected to the clergy in Toulouse. He admits that Corro could claim mitigating circumstances, but adds: "mais elles [les excuses] ne contentent pas du tout." It does not appear that Merlin remained "neutral" as Hauben believes.

Hauben rarely makes full use of his sources. Bèze's long letter to Corro written in the 1560's discusses matters of great interest. Hauben mentions a minor aspect of this letter and fails, here and elsewhere, to substantiate his view sufficiently.

One of Hauben's major sources is an unpublished thesis on Corro of some five hundred pages. Hauben devotes eighty-one pages to him. Part II consists of fifty-six pages, including notes, on Reina, Valera, and Adrian Saravia, who is not Spanish and who is dealt with in an appendix. The bibliography and the index are incomplete, and numerous spelling, printing, and other errors seriously impede the reading.

Trenton State College Elisabeth Feist Hirsch

REFORMATSIONNOE DVIZHENIE I KLASSOVAIA BOR'BA V NIDERLANDAKH V PERVOI POLOVINE XVI VEKA [The Reformation Movement and the Class Struggle in the Netherlands in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century]. By *A. N. Chistozvonov.* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1964. Pp. 397.)

The title of this book is misleading. It is a monograph that deals in meticulous fashion with the radical social and religious uprisings in the Netherlands connected with the Anabaptist movement and coinciding in time, and in concerted effort, Chistozvonov concludes, with the Anabaptist seizure of Münster in 1534 and 1535.

Since Engels' time, Marxian writers have referred fondly to the short-lived, militant Anabaptist groups of the 1530's in Münster and elsewhere as perhaps the earliest popular modern striving for a communistic social order. The author of this study has sought evidence to support this contention by poring through the abundant Dutch archival records of public acts and criminal sentences and using his findings in conjunction with the published literature on the early years of the Dutch Reformation in general and of the Anabaptists in particular. He has shown convincingly that social discord in sundry towns and villages reached mas-

sive proportions during the years in question. He makes a fairly strong case for the argument that depressed urban journeymen were the dominant element in the waves of unrest and that their wrath was directed against the burghers. He is less successful in weaving the several uprisings into a broad social pattern and purpose. He is hard put to find qualities of revolutionary leadership among the rather unsavory Anabaptist "prophets" who spurred their excitable brethren into violent action. Beyond the general outcry against ecclesiastical and secular authority and the occasional call for a sharing of goods, he unearths little to give credence to the Marxian notion that these zealots followed an instinctively communistic ideological bent; on the contrary, the book engenders the cumulative impression that aimless fanaticism prevailed. The net effect is one of brutal but spasmodic riot and ruin.

Before undertaking this study, Chistozvonov wrote several solid little articles on early sixteenth-century Dutch economic and social development. He knows his way with the Dutch language and with Dutch historical sources. It might be well for him in his future endeavors to focus upon problems that are susceptible to systematic treatment and to let the Anabaptists rest.

American Association of University Professors JORDAN E. KURLAND

JOHAN VAN OLDENBARNEVELT: BESCHEIDEN BETREFFENDE ZIJN STAATKUNDIG BELEID EN ZIJN FAMILIE. Volume III, 1614–1620. Edited by *A. J. Veenendaal.* [Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Large Series, Number 121.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1967. Pp. xiv, 714.)

WITH this volume Dr. Veenendaal completes the publication of the sources concerning the political activity and the personal life of Johan van Oldenbarneveldt, who, with William the Silent, founded the independent republic of the United Netherlands. Where the previous volumes by S. P. Haak and Veenendaal extended respectively to 1602 and 1613, the present volume, no less bulky, covers the eventful last four and one-half years of the life of the Advocate of Holland. A supplement includes material for the years from 1580 to 1613, which appeared after the publication of the second volume.

Again we have a masterful example of scholarly editing based on rich learning and yet directed only to utility, never to pedantic display. The documents printed include not only correspondence by and to Oldenbarneveldt, but also a varied assortment of papers connected with his life and death. Many have already been printed in various forms, but a not insignificant number are published for the first time. Although this volume appeared after the third volume of Jan den Tex' masterly biography (1966), it is used, in that work, presumably from proof sheets (Den Tex predates it to 1966). The condemned statesman's last two letters to his family, on the eve and on the morning of his execution, although printed many times before, become, if anything, more moving in this utterly unrhetorical context of a collection of documents.

An elaborate analysis of the contents of this volume would be beside the point here. It will suffice to let Oldenbarneveldt speak for himself in a brief sentence that illustrates the quality of his mind and style. Replying to a query from G. van Boetzelaer, newly named ambassador to France, asking for copies of some

earlier ambassadors' "best, most intelligent, wisest and well written" dispatches to serve as models, Oldenbarneveldt wrote: "Unnecessary; the truth about matters of importance, and in brief, will be accepted as good style." Had the work of the humanist *oratores* been for naught? Hardly, for Oldenbarneveldt's own crisp, precise prose derives from the best of their teaching and practice.

Rutgers University HERBERT H. ROWEN

GESCHIEDENIS VAN DE NEDERLANDSCHE BANK, BESCHREVEN IN OPDRACHT VAN DE DIRECTIE. By *A. M. de Jong*. Volume I, DE NEDERLANDSCHE BANK VAN 1814 TOT 1864. In two parts. With a foreword by *G. Vissering*. Reprint. Volumes II–IV, DE NEDERLANDSCHE BANK VAN 1864 TOT 1914. With a foreword by *M. W. Holtrop*. (Haarlem: Joh. Enschedé en Zonen for the Bank. 1967. Pp. xviii, 530; 536–1249; xv, 637; xiii, 765; xvi, 746.)

FEW have done fuller justice to their economic history than the Dutch. One thinks of that admirable series, the *Economisch-Historisch Jaarboek* and of that proud tradition of *Gedenkboeken* and *Gedenkschriften* in which the Dutch business houses have recorded their activities, often in models of beautiful bookmaking. Mr. de Jong's great work immediately takes its place in the forefront of such studies. It is notable for the solidity of its scholarship, for the wealth of its documentation (two fat volumes of basic records), and for the beauty of its typography.

This extensive study has had a troubled history. Planned but unwritten for the bank's centenary (1914), the work was later assigned to De Jong, a young law graduate of Leiden, who in 1921 joined the staff of the bank where he eventually became secretary and deputy governor. By 1930 he had completed the history to 1864, and it was printed as Volume I, in two parts. Since the work was not commercially published, few copies reached the United States, where it is virtually unknown. Over the years the scholar-banker has continued his researches and has now carried the story to 1914 in three added volumes. The two parts of 1930 have been reprinted without change save for the omission of some illustrations.

If the writing of its history has been troubled, so has the history of the bank itself. When the Dutch regained their freedom in 1813, their economy was in a parlous state. While Belgian industry had gained from widened French markets, Dutch commerce had nearly disappeared, the famous Bank of Amsterdam was collapsing, and Holland as the world's financial center was only a memory. But William of Orange, soon to be King William I, was strong willed and business minded. A strong bank was indispensable for the new kingdom. By decree in March 1814 he created a central joint stock bank with limited but important powers at Amsterdam. It could discount bills of exchange but not other commercial papers; make loans limited to three months on specified securities; control the metallic currency; receive payments from public authorities as the state's fiscal agent; and, alone in the Netherlands, it could issue bank notes. The fears reflected in the charter restrictions and in the choice of cautious management explain in part the slow pace of the bank's growth. Investors knew too well the record of paper money since the 1770's. They were skeptical of the new bank

notes, but conservative management gradually built confidence. The bank's refusal to make advances to the state seemed a guarantee against the fate of the Bank of France in 1814. Indeed, by mid-century the wind blew from another direction. Was not Dutch economic growth retarded by a management that was too cautious, too concerned with its own dividends, too heedless of Dutch business beyond the canals of Amsterdam? The sequel in 1863 was a thorough revamping of the charter, not by decree but by act of Parliament. The bank was now required to open a branch in Rotterdam and at least one agency in every Dutch province. Business boomed, profits were large, and in 1888 Parliament required the bank to make limited advances to the state when needed and to share with it its profits. The trend was unmistakable, the popular voice was sounding louder at the turn of the century, but 1948 was still far off.

Now we want the bank's history from 1914 at least to its nationalization. We can hope that the author will provide it for his knowledge is unequaled, and he can build on his other work, *De wetgeving nopens de Nederlandsche Bank 1814–1958* (1960).

University of Vermont PAUL D. EVANS

LA "FAMINE DU COTON," 1861–1865: EFFETS DE LA GUERRE DE SÉCESSION SUR L'INDUSTRIE COTONNIÈRE GANTOISE. By *Hubert Galle*. [Centre d'Histoire Économique et Sociale.] ([Brussels:] Université Libre de Bruxelles, Institut de Sociologie. 1967. Pp. 166. 300 fr. B.)

AT first glance this monograph appears so limited as to appeal only to highly specialized historians. Such an estimate would be incorrect, for this penetrating study takes on dimensions of greater scope than its title indicates.

After establishing that in the nineteenth century the cotton industry of Ghent was nearly synonymous with that of all Belgium, Galle describes the city's industry prior to the outbreak of the American Civil War. His analysis is based on the extensive use of municipal and national archives. A narrative synchronizes the episodes of the industrial crisis with the fluctuations of the Civil War; well-constructed tables and graphs in the text and appendixes demonstrate the effect of speculation regarding the war on the prices of raw and finished cotton.

It is to the problem of speculation that the greatest space is devoted. The author does not consider sufficient the traditional explanation of the cotton crisis: the lack of raw materials requiring an increase in prices that brought a decline in sales. If shortage of raw cotton initiated the crisis, it was speculation by the manufacturers that caused its intensity. There was considerable overproduction in 1859–1860 leading to a sales problem even before the American conflict could affect the European raw cotton market. During the first stages of the war, cotton buyers were slow to build stocks because they believed imminent southern victory would reopen the blockaded cotton ports. When factory owners did begin buying cotton, they continued to withhold their products, hoping to force the prices for finished goods still higher. Eventually some manufacturers found it necessary to sell just when prices, instead of rising, slid downward because of competition provided by woolens and linens.

Some marginal producers, especially those unable to sell at high prices stocks

of goods manufactured before the war, suffered severely, as did the unemployed. Yet Galle believes the "cotton famine" merely accelerated developments stemming from more basic causes than the American war. Indeed, the sharp increase in the practice of sales to arrive is the only durable result that he wishes to attribute to the crisis, a crisis his fine monograph indicates has hitherto been overrated.

Allegheny College JONATHAN E. HELMREICH

LATVIJAS VĒSTURE, 1914–1920. By *Edgar Anderson.* ([Stockholm:] Daugava. 1967. Pp. 754.)

IN this volume on the making of Latvia, 1914–1920, Edgar Anderson has placed the major emphasis on the political development and the foreign affairs of the Baltic area, but he has tried to give an integrated picture of these six years in an area and of a nationality that had to fight its way to existence. The first seven chapters deal with World War I to the outbreak of the March 1917 revolution in Russia; the next nine chapters bring the story to the outbreak of the German Revolution of November 1918. This is followed by a third section on the struggle for independence.

The first section contains several unusual items. The Russians are shown as taking drastic measures, soon after war broke out, against the Baltic Germans and the Jews. When the German advance broke into Courland and later into the Riga region, the wave of refugees from German rule had a very real effect on the situation in the rapidly growing Russian cities, especially in Moscow. The Russians sent the Latvian military formation to do duty in Russian cities, and in areas generally far from the fighting fronts. The beginnings of national awakening owed much to Latvians in America, and it also found a center from which to work in Switzerland.

In the second period, the new idea of independence was buffeted by a German effort to include the area in Germany or in its sphere of influence and by the attempt to maintain Russia with its prewar boundaries. Within Russia the Latvian military and political organizations were far to the Left, willing to back any movement that would erase the tsarist regime and break with Russification. This helped to explain the fact that the Lettish troops became shock formations for the Bolsheviki. The Soviet government of Latvia was driven out by the German advance in 1918, and yet the movement toward Latvian nationality grew. Allied interest and American intervention greatly influenced this.

Estonia and Lithuania preceded Latvia in proclaiming nationhood, but when Latvia acted it had to withstand three German attempts to continue control over the Baltic area. A Soviet invasion met with some success, then was shattered by a counterattack. Military cooperation with Poland and Lithuania finally gave Latvia boundaries that endured until 1940.

The author has assembled nearly all the material available about the Latvian side of this story, the discussion of Soviet Latvia is new and of the utmost value, and there is also much new material on the Lettish contribution to the Bolshevik revolution and Lenin's cause. He gives for perhaps the first time a connected story of the American, English, and French actions in the Baltic, and the

military reviews of the events in the struggle for independence break new ground in English. He tries to unravel and keep clear the threads of action as between the many groups in Latvia who, between Right and Left, tried to form parties, to organize forces, and to seize the reins of government. He gives a clear explanation of the government that finally emerged, and why it succeeded.

The tone is temperate, the accents historical. Even in the highly charged paragraphs that detail what Latvia suffered during and from the war, there is no anger. The print is clear, the organization logical, and the treatment follows a natural line of development. Looking for defects, one is led to cavil at the many details in some of the sketches. Also, a part of the story of the Latvian Soviets and the Lettish Bolsheviki in Russia cannot be told as the documents are unavailable.

Entire chapters of this work should be translated into a major language in order to add to our understanding of World War I and of the world it brought into being. This land has had brief joys and long sorrows, and the author has shown well how its short existence as an independent nation came about.

University of Southern California FRANCIS J. BOWMAN

REICH UND REFORMATION. By *Stephan Skalweit.* [Propyläen Bibliothek der Geschichte.] (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag. 1967. Pp. 457. DM 35.)

THIS work is essentially a history of Germany from Maximilian to the Peace of Augsburg, but only because the Holy Roman Empire was so largely German. As the title indicates, the theme is the interrelation of the Empire and the Reformation. The political and the religious events are so interwoven, often in alternating chapters, that the history of the Empire seems to have been introduced in order to explain how the Reformation could have happened and the history of the Reformation utilized to show what happened to the Empire. The interplay suggests a game of billiards—your shot, my shot—with every shot conditioned by the preceding and the game moving with dynamic velocity not to a conclusion but to the moment when the players are called away. This is a history written for the educated reader rather than the specialist. There is no documentation as to sources, though obviously the author has at any rate read all of the crucial documents. The views of modern authors are acknowledged by placing their names in parentheses after the references. The bibliography identifies the works in question. The author has acquainted himself with the best of modern scholarship and with the most recent. He refers, for example, to the contention lately advanced by Bizer that Luther's evangelical theology was not matured until 1518, a year after the composition of the ninety-five theses. Again there is mention of the claim of Iserloh that Luther mailed rather than nailed his theses to the door of the church, the point being that he was deferential to authority and sent his protest first to his superior rather than inviting public debate. On such points the author does not commit himself, but makes the reader aware of discussion in progress.

The finest quality of the work is a genuine appreciation of the power of religion in shaping events. The author is thoroughly familiar with the political, social, and economic forces of the age. He recognizes that motives are seldom un-

mixed, but he is also aware that men are willing to renounce power, status, and wealth for the sake of religious conviction. He understands the nature and the grounds of varying convictions: the Catholic orthodoxy of Charles V and Hadrian VI, the piety of Erasmus nurtured by the *Devotio Moderna* and humanism, the evangelical experience of Luther, the activist Biblicism of Zwingli, the Christian primitivism of the Anabaptists. My only complaint at this point is that the descriptions center too much on externals, more on how these people actually behaved, and not sufficiently on their theological and sometimes philosophical presuppositions.

On the political side the author is able to judge a particular enactment in terms of its times. Take, for example, the famous formulation *cuius regio eius religio,* which embodies the spirit of the Peace of Augsburg, though, as the author recognizes, the phrase is not to be found until the beginning of the next century. The expression is usually taken to mean that the ruler can determine what shall be the religion of his territory and then enforce his view upon his subjects. The author properly stresses that in the sixteenth century the principle enunciated was a device for avoiding massacres and mass expulsions. It gave to individuals the right to emigrate without confiscation of property to regions where their own confession was dominant. This was religious pluralism on a territorial basis. Unhappily it applied only to Catholics and Lutherans and did not allow pluralism within a given territory. But at the time this was a marked improvement over the extermination of minorities.

There are minor points at which I might cavil, but that is true of any work. By and large this is an admirable and exciting introduction to one of the great formative periods in the history of the Western world.

Yale University Roland H. Bainton

DIE ARBEITERBEWEGUNG IN DER NATIONALEN BEWEGUNG: DIE DEUTSCHE SOZIALDEMOKRATIE VOR, WÄHREND UND NACH DER REICHSGRÜNDUNG. By *Werner Conze* and *Dieter Groh.* [Industrielle Welt: Schriftenreihe des Arbeitskreises für moderne Sozialgeschichte, Number 6.] (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag. 1966. Pp. 132.)

This slim volume has emanated from the Heidelberg Institute for Social and Economic History, a product of Conze's long-standing interest in nationality questions and Groh's concern to back up chronologically his larger study of the German socialists and World War I. It is chiefly a work of synthesis rather than new primary research and makes excellent use of the wealth of monographs on German socialism that have appeared in the last decade.

The authors seek to combat the view that the workers' movement was composed of "vaterlandslosen Gesellen" whose international class loyalties precluded any attachment to the nation. Prior to 1871, they argue, German socialists cooperated with other groups aimed at national unification and constituted an "integral part of the national movement." This held for the earliest journeymen's organizations in the 1830's, through the Revolution of 1848, and down to the Lassalleans and Eisenachers. There was no apparent conflict between international class loyalty and the ardent desire for German nationhood. Most socialists

favored a unification by popular revolution whereby both Prussia and Austria would disappear, their German-speaking parts merged with the rest of the fatherland to form a unitary democratic republic. The creation of Bismarck's *Reich* in 1871 destroyed this vision and divided social democracy profoundly from most of the national movement. The socialists could not embrace a unification that seemed to serve Prussian dynastic interests rather than national-democratic ones, which forcibly included French Alsace-Lorraine while it forcibly excluded German Austria. Germany was indeed united, but it was not *their* Germany. With some justice Bismarck characterized the socialists as *reichsfeindlich,* but *nationsfeindlich* they were not and had never been. The distinction is not generally drawn, but it helps considerably, as the authors conclude, to explain Social Democratic behavior in World War I.

This book is perhaps the most discriminating that has been written on the subject of socialism and nationalism in Germany. One may be amused by the authors' seeming desire to reassure their countrymen that social democracy does indeed belong to the nation. Non-Germans, of course, have known this for a long time. But non-Germans have too often been unable to distinguish the nationalism of Liebknecht and Bebel from that of Treitschke or Ludendorff. By emphasizing that socialist nationalism was distinctive and incompatible with the Bismarckian *Reich,* Conze and Groh have performed a needful service.

University of Pittsburgh RICHARD N. HUNT

GERMANY WITHOUT BISMARCK: THE CRISIS OF GOVERNMENT IN THE SECOND REICH, 1890–1900. By *J. C. G. Röhl.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. 304. $9.00.)

THE constitutional patchwork on which the German Empire was built remained disguised during the first twenty years of its existence. Only after 1890 did the division and irresponsibility of power in the state become apparent. The confusion of incompatible authorities and functions looked like a system of government as long as Bismarck directed the mechanism of government. Once he fell, a vacuum was created that established legal procedure could not fill. The result was a decade of Byzantine machinations between Emperor and ministry, while the nation could only guess that behind the scenes a struggle involving its vital interests was in progress. The intrigues of some twenty men in high position determined the destiny of the most powerful country in Europe. By saving the monarchy from the danger of parliamentary control, Bismarck had established an authoritarian regime that overthrew him and then led crown and people to disaster. The victor in the contest for political control after the dismissal of the Iron Chancellor was the neurotic and calamitous Wilhelm II. The fate of the state came to depend on a man whom Friedrich von Holstein described as "this impulsive and unhappily completely superficial ruler [without] the slightest idea of constitutional law, of political events, of diplomatic history and—of how to deal with people."

J. C. G. Röhl describes this struggle vividly in his scholarly and painstaking monograph. He focuses his attention on the test of strength within the government. What interests him is not public opinion as expressed in newspapers, legis-

latures, and parties, but the secret conflict of a small group of influential men vying for control of the state. He demonstrates, based on extensive archival research, that by the end of the 1890's the Emperor's authority had become unchallengeable and that this authority was used to direct the conduct of government far more than most scholars have believed. Here was a decisive turning point in the history of the German Empire, he feels, for a victory of the ministers might gradually have led to parliamentary rule. Perhaps so. Yet, in the contest of imperial against ministerial authority, the latter could prevail only by enlisting the aid of the political parties. And this it refused to do because the bureaucracy was as opposed to democratic government as the crown. The disastrous reign of Wilhelm II was the nemesis of a philosophy of state that exalted authority over responsibility.

University of Wisconsin THEODORE S. HAMEROW

THE STORY OF FRITZ HABER. By *Morris Goran.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 212. $4.95.)

As the scientist who did more than any other to lead Germany in exploiting its chemical superiority during World War I, Fritz Haber well deserves a book-length biography. His Nobel Prize-winning ammonia synthesis had been perfected after 1906 for peaceful purposes, but before it could make much fertilizer it was turned to the making of explosives. Without it, the Allied blockade barring further imports of Chilean nitrates would have forced the Germans to their knees by mid-1915. Haber's zeal as a research director and later head of the Chemical Warfare Service also helped Germany beat the Allies to the use of poison gas. For Haber this identification with gas warfare proved upsetting. His wife committed suicide when her humanitarian pleas failed to stop him from doing his patriotic duty, and Allied propagandists, by associating poison gas with his name, ruined his postwar reputation. Still, in the 1920's, he was able to continue directing the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physical and Electro-Chemistry, once more pouring out his talents and prestige to help Germany reassert its prewar leadership in chemical teaching, research, and industry. A baptized Jew, Haber was ever driven to demonstrate his primary and complete loyalty to Germany. When the Nazis undercut his assimilationist persuasion and patriotism, he turned Zionist, but died in Switzerland in 1934 before he could reach the Promised Land.

An assertive, multiply creative figure moving among the leading scientific personages of his generation during the most dramatic period of modern German history, Haber provides the biographer with a splendid opportunity for intellectual portraiture and illumination of the contemporary scene. Unfortunately, Professor Goran does neither. Researched with diligence, the book fails as a character study and as a historical synthesis. It is not even a solid, pedestrian chronicle. Haber's scientific contributions are lightly treated and in a near vacuum. The claim that he was "the greatest authority in the world on the relations between scientific research and industry" is not sustained. The opportunity to explore the relationships between German scientists, industry, and government before, during, and after the war is not seized. Goran tries hardest to evoke the

academic and Jewish middle-class milieu that produced Haber, and in places he succeeds, but the over-all effect is one of successive, often pointless, and digressive episodes strung end to end. Poor writing mars the book in numerous spots, and its fine bibliography does not compensate for the lack of footnotes. Despite all this, Goran makes a scholarly contribution. He calls attention to a great biographical opportunity and provides those who would seize it with valuable raw materials.

University of Delaware JOHN J. BEER

WAR, MUTINY AND REVOLUTION IN THE GERMAN NAVY: THE WORLD WAR I DIARY OF SEAMAN RICHARD STUMPF. Edited, translated and with an introduction by *Daniel Horn*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1967. Pp. vi, 442. $10.00.)

MR. Horn has presented a fascinating diary kept by a perceptive and well-read German sailor from July 1914 through November 1918. From Stumpf's vantage point on the battleship *Helgoland* during most of the war, he recorded his impressions of navy life: the toil of keeping ships in a constant state of alert, growing dislike for "gentlemen" officers, speculation about when and against what forces they would sail, and the change from anticipation to listlessness to a breakdown of morale as a result of prolonged inactivity. He followed and recorded German successes and failures in all areas of conflict—the western front, German East Africa, Tsingtao. He pondered the attitudes of various statesmen and was particularly apprehensive of President Wilson's notes. And he noted the increasing hardship that war placed upon German civilians as he traveled several times to visit his native Bavaria.

Here, then, is a comprehensive contemporary account written with such insight that, when the *Reichstag* Investigating Committee on the Causes of the German Collapse examined Stumpf's diary in 1926, the author was invited to testify before the committee. Soon abridged and unabridged editions of the diary were published in German. The committee was impressed by the diary, as is the modern reader, in large part because Stumpf saw the problems of the naval revolts from a different perspective than that held in self-justifying memoirs of Scheer, Tirpitz, Ludendorff, and other leaders. Stumpf's perspective was novel. The diary was a document that doctoral students of Professor Fritz Kern often cited during the early 1930's in their dissertations on the naval revolts, Heinrich Neu and Hans Kutscher, for example.

Horn has made a valuable contribution to historical scholarship by editing and translating with skill and imagination. His introduction properly sets the stage for Stumpf's own words. His frequent explanatory footnotes are for the most part helpful, although some are unnecessarily long and detailed. In a few instances documentation for Horn's own interpretations within long footnotes would have been welcome. Yet these are minor criticisms of what is a first-rate piece of editorial scholarship that causes me to anticipate Horn's forthcoming book on the German naval mutinies of World War I.

University of California, Davis CARL BOYD

DER KAPP-LÜTTWITZ-PUTSCH: EIN BEITRAG ZUR DEUTSCHEN INNENPOLITIK 1919/20. By *Johannes Erger.* [Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, Number 35.] (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1967. Pp. 365.)

This complete and well-documented study of the March 1920 revolt illustrates well the complex difficulties facing the Weimar Republic during its first year of existence. The purposes and fears of the principal actors and groups are so varied that it is impossible to draw a simplistic picture of Germany divided into two camps of those either supporting or rejecting the republic.

The author shows that this is true even with respect to the attitudes of Kapp and Lüttwitz themselves. Despite the fact that Kapp and his supporters had been preparing for the overthrow of the republic for almost a year, they were not prepared for and did not really approve of the *Putsch,* which was actually begun by Lüttwitz on March 13. The general, on the other hand, did not fully agree with the political goals of the Kapp group. Matters were further complicated because Kapp's party, the DNVP, lent only passive support to the movement while the core of Lüttwitz' force, the Ehrhardt Brigade, was suspected of harboring anything but conservative sympathies. In fact, the almost complete lack of planning and the unrealistic expectations of the putschists are amazing even when measured by the yardstick of other planless and unrealistic revolts of those early years of the Weimar Republic.

The role of the *Reichswehr* is well presented, and it becomes obvious that, although the actions of Seeckt in Berlin are open to the most serious question, the army in many other parts of the country did support the legal government though often the officers held little love for the Constitution. It is the author's contention that, while the failure of the army to act decisively permitted the revolt to begin, it was also the army that finally forced Lüttwitz into submission.

Erger also shows that the general strike that contributed so much to frustrating the revolt was viewed most uneasily not only by the officers and conservative politicians but also by the leaders of the parties supporting the government. The fear of Bolshevism was real, and it may well be that the republic was saved not by love but from fear of something worse.

One may doubt the conclusion that the Kapp *Putsch* really decided the fate of the republic, and one may regret the fact that the principals remain here scarcely more than names, but this does not detract much from the general excellence of this study.

Purdue University James H. McRandle

DIETRICH BONHOEFFER: THEOLOGE; CHRIST; ZEITGENOSSE. By *Eberhard Bethge.* (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag. 1967. Pp. 1128. Cloth DM 46, paper DM 42.)

Professor Helmut Gollwitzer, the noted Berlin theologian who, like Bonhoeffer, suffered under Hitler for his convictions, has called this book one of the great and lasting biographies of our century. It would be hard to disagree with Goll-

witzer after having followed the author through 1,100 pages with increasing admiration. Eberhard Bethge, pupil and closest friend of the martyred Dietrich Bonhoeffer, has given thoughtful readers a literary and spiritual treasure rare in our times. He has assembled and organized an enormous amount of largely unknown important information to which he alone had full access, for he was not only Dietrich's most trusted confidant but he also married into his family. He shows Bonhoeffer's life and his religious thinking in new perspective. While Gerhard Ritter, also one of Hitler's prisoners, brilliantly assessed in his work *Carl Goerdeler und die deutsche Widerstandsbewegung* (1954) the political side of the ill-fated German resistance movement, Bethge has many surprising, and not always cheering, observations on the role of the Confessing Church and its prominent leaders in those crucial years.

What a high-minded family the Bonhoeffers were! Karl Bonhoeffer, the father, was one of Germany's leading psychiatrists. He and his wife Paula, unostentatious in their style of life, rather reticent in expressing sentiments about religion, and genuine liberals in their political convictions, provided for their eight children a home untouched by any profane or mercenary thought; it remained their refuge in troubled times. Dietrich felt the call to enter the field of theology. He gained his first laurels at the University of Berlin under the guidance of Adolf von Harnack. Having sat at this master's feet, I can attest to the excellence of the portrait Bethge presents of him. In 1931, however, Bonhoeffer turned to Karl Barth, the great adversary of liberal Protestantism, after an intimate exchange of views, and henceforth remained close to many of his teachings. Extensive travels abroad, partly in the service of the ecumenical movement, took Bonhoeffer frequently to England, where he enjoyed the confidence and friendship of Bishop George Bell of Chichester. Twice he came to America; he held a fellowship at Union Theological Seminary in 1930–1931 and served there as a guest lecturer in the summer of 1939. During a lonely walk on Times Square one evening in June he made the fateful decision to return to Hitler's Germany rather than to stay permanently in the USA. During the war, he became involved in contemporary politics partly through his brother-in-law, *Reichsgerichtsrat* Hans von Dohnanyi, one of the brains behind the attempts at overthrowing Hitler. Arrested in April 1943 under the suspicion of illegal acts, Dietrich was imprisoned for about two years. He was executed on April 9, 1945, three weeks before Hitler's death. Hitler himself ordered this act of revenge against the resistance. Bonhoeffer died on a gallows of the concentration camp at Flossenbürg; his body was cremated, the ashes destroyed. The camp physician later testified that in a half century of practice he had seen hardly anyone die so resigned to God's will.

Bonhoeffer's spirit has lived on. Today, twenty-three years after his execution, his writings have become a vital force among intellectuals of many countries who are searching for a new answer to their religious questions. Admirers and critics alike will be forever indebted to Bethge for this *monumentum aere perennius.* American scholars whose knowledge of German is limited should read the Bonhoeffer issue of the *Union Seminary Quarterly Review,* XXIII (Fall 1967), as an introduction. It not only contains a deeply moving tribute of his fiancée Maria von Wedemeyer-Weller, who quotes from some of his unpublished letters to her,

but also some excellent essays by Bethge and Bonhoeffer's long-time American friend Professor Paul L. Lehmann. Perhaps Lehmann sums up the extraordinary merit of this biography best: "This is Dietrich Bonhoeffer as I never knew him before. This is Dietrich Bonhoeffer as I always knew him."

Trenton State College FELIX E. HIRSCH

DIE STAATS– UND WIRTSCHAFTSKRISE DES DEUTSCHEN REICHS 1929/33: SECHS BEITRÄGE. By *Hans Raupach et al.* Edited by *Werner Conze* and *Hans Raupach.* [Industrielle Welt: Schriftenreihe des Arbeitskreises für moderne Sozialgeschichte, Number 8.] (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag. 1967. Pp. 255. DM 24.)

THE six essays in this small, weighty volume were derived from papers presented to the *Arbeitskreis für moderne Sozialgeschichte,* and they concern largely the interrelations of economic, social, and political forces in Germany during the depression. It is astounding to read here that this most obvious approach has been slighted in the mass of studies on the end of the Weimar Republic.

Four essays stress economic aspects. Hans Raupach considers the general problem of the poor German East versus the richer West, pointing, as Max Weber did over a half century ago, to the peculiarly fragile German position in the East in relation to an expanding Polish population, and arguing the superior efficiency of large estate operation and the ineffectiveness of attempts at small holder settlement in the East. Dietmar Keese gives a highly interesting analysis of the catastrophic effect of the government's deflationary policy. He maintains that the flight of German capital was as important as the withdrawal of foreign loans and that the effort to keep Germany economically afloat through an export surplus was foredoomed.

Wilhelm Treue discusses sympathetically the various attitudes of German entrepreneurs, their initial leaning toward Brüning, followed by the shift of many of them toward the Nazis. He notes that many also approved Papen and feared Schleicher's course, and he plays down somewhat the significance of big business' financial support for Hitler. Ursula Hüllbüsch treats in detail the background of the cabinet crisis of March 1930 and pursues the tale as the Free Unions and the Social Democratic party, faced with the Nazi landslide and Communist gains in September 1930, moved reluctantly from opposition to tacit support of Brüning, the last bulwark against dictatorship.

The papers of Rudolf Viehaus and Werner Conze present more familiar themes, but still provide stimulating material. The former tries a historical-psychological aproach to the multitude of crises around 1930 and discusses the growth of fear in the middle class and then among the farmers, the disintegration of will and hope among the unemployed, and the appeal of the Nazis' promised new deal to these depressed people. Conze notes at length the course of politics, 1930–1933, emphasizing that Hindenburg's position in March 1930 and afterward meant that Brüning had no real chance of an opening toward the Social Democrats. The most he could achieve, since he could not surrender Hindenburg's support and still remain Chancellor, was *Tolerierungspolitik.* The back-

ground of Brüning's fall is well presented, with evidence of Hindenburg's mounting distrust even before the famous retreat to Neudeck in May 1932.

The contributors are generally rather favorable to Brüning politically, however much they may criticize his economic policy. The gap that his own memoirs would fill for this period is still, sadly, unfilled.

Harvard University REGINALD H. PHELPS

L'HITLÉRISME ET LE SYSTÈME CONCENTRATIONNAIRE. By *Joseph Billig*. Foreword by *I. Schneersohn*. Preface by *Henri Michel*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1967. Pp. xix, 321. 28 fr.)

Books on Hitler's *Reich* fall loosely into two categories: those that remind us of the horror and others that try to explain it. Although M. Billig has long been associated with the Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation and dedicated this to his mother, "deported to the East in 1943," he neither strongly reminds nor clearly explains.

His theme is that the "concentration system" evolved logically from Hitler's early ideas, which consistently motivated him, not from assumed cynical opportunism. His was not a backward-looking adoration of "Germanism" but an intuitive-pragmatic opposition to both Marxism and capitalism in response to which he "discovered" that industrial society could be held together only by Rosenberg's "racial myth." Hitler identified this superior race with engineer-industrialists, not the *petite bourgeoisie,* and, therefore, allied with "Industry" in his 1932 Düsseldorf speech. In this industrial racialism Billig finds the necessary cause for the SS and their concentration work camps. These embodied the unchanging ideal: the racially superior idealist efficiently organizing the inferior in patriotic industry.

The book's strength is its tracing the rise of the work camps and the incidental sketch of conflict within the party and between party and state; Billig describes the Gestapo as not so much the ally but the rival of the SS. In the more valuable second half, the last chapter is impressive on SS industrialism as the conscious embodiment of Hitlerism and the plan to continue it after victory.

So imaginative a thesis deserves better documentation. The author limited himself to secondary sources: Buchheim mostly, with rare reference to recent international literature. Research on Hitler infrequently goes beyond *Mein Kampf;* for Himmler it relies on a few speeches. Further documentation is limited to the Nuremburg Trial Papers, now nearly archaic when considered with the materials available in German archives. The weakest link is the assumed early alliance with "Industry," where either Hallgarten or the "Frick trials" could have supported a claim Billig rests almost exclusively on the 1932 speech.

It is dubious technique to ignore chronology, to use quotations without analysis of their origins or timing, to explain an event in 1944 by an isolated statement in 1925. It is merely strange that the subject could be discussed without such statistics as the number of SS factories and their productivity. Unexplained is the tragic irony that work camps, supposedly Hitlerism's natural goal, were so overshadowed by extermination camps. Better-documented research can be expected,

probably not for the theme that Hitler had planned it all along but rather that he reacted to a "problem" with a pseudopragmatic decision and created ever-greater problems and ever-greater horrors.

Wisconsin State University, River Falls E. N. Peterson

WEST GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1949–1963: INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE AND DOMESTIC RESPONSE. By *Wolfram F. Hanrieder.* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1967. Pp. 275. $7.50.)

In this age of ecumenical and interdisciplinary reconciliation, historians are bound to wonder when and if their own discipline and that of political science will once more be joined in their traditional and mutually stimulating relationship.

If the work of Professor Hanrieder, who teaches political science at the University of California, Santa Barbara, is any indication, however, there will be a long and rocky road before that much-desired goal is reached. There is no question of course that his subject is of first-rate importance, especially since most writing on postwar Germany, on both sides of the Atlantic, has been of so little value or permanent merit. On the other hand, Hanrieder's book is also, to say the least, undistinguished.

Beginning with the correct assumption that "the main aspirations of West German foreign policy"—security, recovery, and reunification—"remained essentially the same even though their specific content changed as they met with success or failure," Hanrieder's account, based largely on secondary works, with no significant new evidence of his own, amounts to little more than a turgid recitation of some of the principal issues in West German politics since the end of the Second World War. The inner history, both ideological and structural, of West German politics and the West German party system over those years is almost wholly ignored, with the result that, although it may be a harsh thing to say, anyone who has followed West German affairs over the past twenty years in, say, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* or *Die Zeit* will find little that is new or significant in these pages.

It should be added that, as is rather fashionable these days, Hanrieder's book is generally critical of the late Konrad Adenauer's foreign policy. But he adds nothing new on the origins and purpose of the quixotic Franco-German treaty, and he agrees that there is "little reason to think the Eastern bloc would consent to unification on terms acceptable to Bonn and the West"; and he admits, furthermore, that the Socialists' attitude toward foreign affairs during the postwar period was "probably sustained more by wishful thinking than by a realistic assessment of the Cold War." Fashionable, also, is Hanrieder's assertion that the Kennedy administration "was determined to regain for America the ability to exploit the changing conditions of the Cold War," a policy that presumably included Mr. Kennedy's maladroit meeting with Khrushchev in Vienna and his dispatching of Vice-President Johnson to Berlin as a face-saving public relations gesture.

Finally, Hanrieder's publishers state that his book employs a method de-

scribed as "systems analysis." If so, said method can be confidently reported to be not only invisible but completely harmless.

Rice University FRANCIS L. LOEWENHEIM

GENEVA AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE FRENCH PROTESTANT MOVEMENT, 1564–1572: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF CONGREGATIONALISM, PRESBYTERIANISM, AND CALVINIST RESISTANCE THEORY. By *Robert M. Kingdon.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1967. Pp. 241. $8.00.)

THAT the spread of Calvinism was promoted and in many ways directed from its international headquarters in Geneva and that the institutional structure of the Reformed Church in that godly city furnished a model for imitation are well enough known. Mr. Kingdon has, however, added considerably to our knowledge of the precise ways in which Geneva, particularly as represented by Theodore Beza, influenced the formation of the Reformed Church in France during the crucial years between the death of Calvin and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Most unfamiliar, even to specialists in the field, will be the blow-by-blow account of the quarrel that threatened to disrupt the Huguenot church during these years, a quarrel between those who favored a democratic, congregational form of church government and the Genevans, led by the indomitable Beza, who wished to impose the rigid discipline and coherent organization that characterized the Genevan church. For local church discipline the Genevan consistory, in which the pastors had a predominant voice, could serve as a model, but, for the government of a national church, new institutions were needed. What Beza and his Genevan brethren fought for was what might be called a Presbyterian form of church government with authority vested in regional and national synods in ascending order. The quarrel was a bitter one, exacerbated by personal antagonisms, and, by the time Beza and his followers achieved final victory, policy had hardened into dogma. Although the controversy was fought out in France, Kingdon argues that it had much wider repercussions. "The result . . . was that the entire Calvinist movement became increasingly, even irretrievably, committed to synodical polity and consistorial discipline. It became far more committed than it ever had been in Calvin's own day. To institutions and practices which he had improvised quite casually to meet the needs of the moment were now ascribed the character of institutions and practices willed by God."

The second problem to which Kingdon devotes his attention, that of the influence of the Genevan pastors on the Wars of Religion, seems to arrive at no such decisive solution. Here, as in the preceding account of the controversy over church organization and discipline, Kingdon relies heavily upon material drawn from the unpublished records of the Geneva Company of Pastors. He has unearthed interesting evidence of Beza's participation in an abortive attempt to enroll Swiss mercenaries for service in the Huguenot army, although not until after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew was Beza prepared to state clearly the doctrine that resistance to established authority is permissible if undertaken in the name of true religion.

University of Western Ontario WALLACE K. FERGUSON

DAS ENDE DES FREISTAATES DER DREI BÜNDE: ERZÄHLT IN AUFSÄTZEN ÜBER DEN ZEITRAUM VON 1763–1803. By *Alfred Rufer.* (Chur: Calven-Verlag. 1965. Pp. 281.)

JOHANN BAPTISTA VON TSCHARNER, 1751–1835: EINE BIOGRAPHIE IM RAHMEN DER ZEITGESCHICHTE. By *Alfred Rufer.* (Chur: Verlag Bischofberger & Co. 1963. Pp. xi, 602.)

When Robert R. Palmer and Jacques Godechot consider the relations of the French Revolution to Switzerland, they justifiably emphasize the western and central cantons and such historical personages as Peter Ochs of Basel and F. C. La Harpe of the Vaud. As they realize, however, the revolutionary events in the eastern part of Switzerland that was then called the *Drei Bünde* illustrate their themes nearly as well. In this rural district of goatherders, farmers, and country townsmen, there were a few families who were wealthier than others. These "aristocrats" dominated the local society and politics; indeed, they monopolized the political offices among themselves. However, even in the 1780's, there were native reformers who were stirred by discontent with local aristocratic domination and by Enlightenment reading to demand an opening of offices to a wider selection of people. These "patriots" welcomed the beginning of the French Revolution and French intervention, while the aristocrats relied on Austrian aid. With French support the patriots enacted measures establishing legal equality, civil liberties, and representative assemblies, only to discover that the aristocrats were able to utilize the new institutions to return to power.

One of the patriots was Johann Baptista von Tscharner. Born in 1751, he entered the politics of the *Drei Bünde* early. Step by step he mounted through the local offices until, in 1793, he was burgomaster of the town of Chur and, in 1795, president of the *Drei Bünde.* A deist in religion and a progressive in politics, he believed in a small farm-small town democracy that would have internal free trade, legal equality, civil liberties, constitutional government by law rather than by the whim of men, representative assemblies, and secular state education. His four great political battles were to dispossess the leading aristocratic family (the Salis) from office, to hang on to the subject lands of the Valtelline, to enact progressive reforms, and to join the *Drei Bünde* to the Helvetic Republic. With the exception of the loss of the Valtelline to the Cisalpine Republic, he largely succeeded in his political enterprises, only to be dismayed by the return of the aristocrats to office after 1800.

Albert Rufer, former archivist of the Swiss Confederation at Bern and dean of Swiss historians, has constructed from the papers of the Tscharner family and from public archival material a life-and-times biography of monumental erudition. In another work he has also reprinted a series of scholarly and readable essays on the end of the *Drei Bünde.* Together the two books constitute a valuable addition to the history of Switzerland and of the revolution of the West.

Duke University Harold T. Parker

ISAAK ISELIN UND DIE SPÄTAUFKLÄRUNG. By *Ulrich Im Hof.* (Bern: Francke Verlag. 1967. Pp. 372. 40 fr. S.)

Isaak Iselin was perhaps the most articulate spokesman in the German-speaking cultural realm for the rationalistic and humanitarian ideals of the Enlightenment.

Three decades before Condorcet he undertook to write the history of mankind as the progressive triumph of human reason over ignorance and irrationality, a process in which industry and trade would eliminate poverty, crime, and war. Utilizing then existing anthropological evidence, Iselin refuted Rousseau's idealized conception of a state of nature. Through books, pamphlets, an important periodical, and an extensive correspondence with major German thinkers of his time, Iselin propagated the economic doctrines of the physiocrats, called for religious toleration and Jewish emancipation, opposed religious orthodoxy without accepting the antiliberal aspects of Josephine anticlericalism, proposed modernization and humanization of education, penal reform, and a more broadly representative government in his native Basel, and became an early critic of colonialism.

Despite the attention that Iselin enjoyed in his lifetime, he is now barely mentioned in histories of historiography or of literature. German thought in the 1770's and 1780's turned in very different directions, and Möser and Herder, not Iselin, became thinkers representative of the new orientation. Im Hof's book is thus the first comprehensive study of Iselin's thought. It is not intended as a continuation of Im Hof's earlier biography of the young Iselin, but combines a brief biography with a systematic presentation of Iselin's ideas in different areas of thought. Im Hof has made good use of Iselin's extensive diaries and correspondence. The book seeks at length to relate Iselin to the thought and political currents of the time and to investigate Iselin's contacts with his contemporaries. It does this unfortunately often at the expense of a thorough analysis of Iselin's ideas. Im Hof thus devotes only six pages to an analysis of Iselin's most important work, *The History of Mankind* (1764), but sixteen pages to its place in eighteenth-century philosophy of history.

The bibliography unfortunately reflects the remnants of a self-imposed iron curtain that still pervades contemporary scholarship. Recent years have seen a renewed interest in the German Enlightenment among East German scholars who have sought alternate national traditions including Werner Krauss's *Die französische Aufklärung im Spiegel der deutschen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts* (1963) and Joachim Streisand's *Geschichtliches Denken von der deutschen Frühaufklärung bis zur Klassik* (1964), which includes a chapter on Iselin. Although these works were not essential for Im Hof's study, which is based almost entirely on primary sources, they should have been included in a bibliography of secondary literature on the German Enlightenment that claims to be complete for the years since 1947.

State University of New York, Buffalo GEORG G. IGGERS

COLUMBUS: THE STORY OF DON CRISTÓBAL COLÓN, ADMIRAL OF THE OCEAN, AND HIS FOUR VOYAGES WESTWARD TO THE INDIES, ACCORDING TO CONTEMPORARY SOURCES. By *Björn Landström*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. 207. $14.95.)

HANDSOMELY bound, with nearly every page profusely illustrated in color, this book is designed as an *objet d'art*. Its distinctive maps and excellent drawings cannot fail to arrest the attention of any person giving this book even the most

cursory perusal. If the work deserves review here, however, it is not because of its artistic appeal. Despite the fact that it is intended for a popular market, it avoids eulogy and follows the tradition of Samuel Eliot Morison in presenting an appreciative but sane appraisal of Columbus' abilities, thoughts, theories, and deeds.

Landström raises most of the traditional questions about place of birth, genealogy, pre-Columbian voyages, first landfall, and so forth, and he accepts conclusions that generally agree with those of Morison. He is, however, less impressed than Morison with Columbus' dependence upon dead reckoning navigation and more impressed than Morison with Columbus' ability to use navigational instruments. He ventures the opinion that Columbus had correctly guessed the Atlantic wind patterns before the first voyage and argues the probability that this "secret" was important in Columbus' negotiation with the Spanish monarchs. He attributes Columbus' motivation more to a crusading zeal against the Muslim than to a personal desire for power or wealth. Landström does not base Columbus' greatness upon his motives, however, but rather upon his comprehension of the problem of sailing west, his pertinacity, his courage, and his very good (though not exceptional) navigational ability. Columbus' major flaw is seen as a weakness in leadership and command, a flaw that became clearly evident in 1498 with the open rebellion of his subordinates.

It must be said that the text suffers from excessively long quotations which, although part of the initial plan of the volume, slow the tempo of the narrative. The lavish illustrative materials further distract the reader from the text. Despite these limitations, this effort to restore Columbus to a place of respect in the popular mind is historically acceptable.

Virginia Military Institute HENRY S. BAUSUM

LA RIVOLTA ANTISPAGNOLA A NAPOLI: LE ORIGINI (1585–1647). By *Rosario Villari*. [Biblioteca di cultura moderna, Number 635.] (Bari: Editori Laterza. 1967. Pp. viii, 305. L. 3,000.)

SOME books should be read for the subject they treat. This book brings together three subjects that have recently aroused considerable interest among historians: the kingdom of Naples, the Spanish Empire, and the economic and social conditions of the seventeenth century. It succeeds in explaining, therefore, what hitherto has remained unclear, even after the studies of G. Galasso and C. Coniglio. It explains why Naples did not go the way of Catalonia in seeking independence from Madrid and why its internal development changed so abruptly, in the years after 1600, from the pattern followed by most of the other states of Europe. Fiscal maladministration, it points out, compounded the effects of economic depression by throwing the tax burden on what was left of the productive sectors of the economy. The reduction of Naples to the role of supplier for the Spanish armies drained it of its wealth and forced the viceroy to alienate most of his sources of revenue. The intervention of financial wizards like Bartolomeo d'Aquino had an effect opposite from that caused by the intervention of John Law a century later: their paper empires eventually fell not to new men but to the feudal barons. The barons were, therefore, the greatest beneficiaries of the

collapse of central authority. And instead of being civilized by residence in the capital, like their peers in France, they turned their huge palaces into dens of thieves. At the same time, the forensic and mercantile bourgeoisie came to regard the crown not as an ally, but as the despoiler of its privileges. The bandits turned from supporting the peasants against the nobles, as they had in the days of that Neapolitan Robin Hood, Marco Sciarra, to helping the nobles, who could guarantee them immunity from state officials, against the peasants. Thus law gave way to violence, taxation to legalized robbery, justice to assassination. And the lower classes, abandoned by viceroy, nobles, and merchants, fell prey to the wildest sort of messianic promises, as Tommaso Campanella discovered to his surprise in 1599. The subject, in other words, is important. It is also timely, at least for an American who has lived through the summers of 1966 and 1967. For it shows how, in a different historical setting, the petrification of an "establishment," the destruction of a "consensus" among the various elements of society, and the overcommitment to unpopular military adventures abroad led inevitably to a cataclysm.

Some books, on the other hand, should be read for the way in which they are written. This masterpiece of historical writing is based on extensive researches in the archives of Naples, Rome, and Simancas. It benefits from the author's technical training in economic history (he can read contemporary account books!) and from his skill as a philologian (he has traced the original manuscript of the *Monarchia di Spagna* in order to clear up his doubts about the printed text). It combines many different aspects of human life—social, economic, and intellectual. It only leaves out speculative philosophy, the plastic arts, and music, because Neapolitans did not, apparently, become particularly active in these fields until the later decades of the century. Finally, it alternates admirably between concise analysis and exciting narrative. Whenever the material becomes too complex for the lay reader, it is put in the form of graphs. The accounts of the rape of Anna Acquaviva and of the plot of Medina and Carrafa are equal to some of the best passages in Guicciardini. And even those chapters that first appeared as separate articles in *Studi storici* fit perfectly into the vigorous organization of the book as a whole. Thus, Villari has turned the historical science he learned from F. Braudel, E. J. Hobsbawm, and F. Chabod into literature. His tragedy now lacks nothing but the final act. And having left his reader in breathless suspense at the eve of the Masaniello uprising, he has a moral obligation to come forth as soon as possible with the sequel promised in the subtitle.

University of Chicago ERIC COCHRANE

L'AGRICOLTURA NEGLI STATI PARMENSI DAL 1750 AL 1859. By *Pier Luigi Spaggiari.* [Studi e ricerche di storia economica italiana nell'età del Risorgimento.] (Milan: Banca Commerciale Italiana. 1966. Pp. 190.)

SPAGGIARI's work is largely monographic and analytical. His thorough investigation of the agricultural economy in the Parmesan territories presents both a graphic picture of agrarian conditions—the nature of the soil, the distribution of crops, agricultural techniques—and a close examination of the various factors that resulted in the general backwardness of agriculture in the "Parmigiano."

The inertness and suspicion of the vast majority of landholders toward progressive reform and the consuming ignorance of the peasantry (attempts to found agricultural societies failed in 1762, 1805, and 1817) represented two major elements in this picture of stagnation. The cultivation of wheat, the chief money crop, also produced several damaging results. The great domestic and foreign demand for wheat led, eventually, to an uneconomic use of the soil and to a marked withdrawal of land previously devoted to growth of fodder, thus deterring a desirable increase in the number of cattle and farm animals. Such externally caused changes in the agricultural sector in the nineteenth century as a price rise and increased production simply concealed the basic and growing weaknesses. During the first half of the nineteenth century there was practically no domestic agricultural reform to counter retrogressive tendencies.

It is in his suggestion and tentative interpretation of basic reasons for the lack of progressive reform that Spaggiari is most interesting. The Parmesan territories failed to enjoy the advantages of a possible agricultural revolution in the post-Napoleonic period because of a lack of innovation directly attributable to the landholding system. Most of the old, established landowning families were indeed conservative, but the great obstacle to progress came from the growing number of "new" landholders. Middle-class investment in land rose dramatically in the nineteenth century. The Napoleonic reforms had encouraged this trend in that great tracts of land were transferred from the Church to the state, which then leased the land through public contracts. The paramount concern of these new landholders was for short-run profits; they waited for the harvests as others waited for their interest coupons. Such landholders were entirely unqualified to play any significant progressive role in the agricultural economy.

On the whole, Spaggiari's analysis is cogent and revealing. His work is supported by intensive archival research, extensive use of published sources, and the usual collection of statistics and tables judiciously evaluated. In illustrating the lack of parallelism between developments in Lombardy and Parma, and even between those in Parma and Piacenza, Spaggiari exposes and avoids the pitfalls of the analogical approach.

This book should not only serve as a basic reference volume; it should also stimulate new, more interpretive work on Parmesan agrarian economy.

Stevens Institute of Technology Silvio R. Laccetti

NATURALISTI–ESPLORATORI DELL'OTTOCENTO ITALIANO: ANTOLOGIA SCIENTIFICA E LETTERARIA. By *Francesco Rodolico*. (Florence: Felice Le Monnier. [1967.] Pp. vii, 367. L. 6,000.)

In his brief but suggestive introduction to this anthology, Francesco Rodolico notes that Italian naturalists in the nineteenth century reflected the intellectual currents of Darwin's century and of an Italy renewed by political unification. The excitement of travel and the conquest of new knowledge offered a glory both personal and national. Rodolico has selected passages from the printed reports of twenty men, most of them scholars though a few were amateurs. Nearly all were among the founders of various clubs and societies, including the Italian Geographical Society, dedicated to adventure and to science. A few of these ac-

counts appeared in the 1850's, but most were first published in the 1880's and 1890's. They tell of unusual animals, startling terrains, and strange peoples, of personal hardship, and of scientific evidence important to geology and botany. Sensitive to the economic potential of exotic regions, these accounts hint at the optimism of imperialism, and it may be significant that more of these Italian explorers went to Ethiopia and other parts of Africa north of the Congo than to any other part of the world. Still, an attractive enthusiasm and innocence enliven all the accounts, whether of adventures in the Alps, Siberia, New Guinea, Japan, Latin America, or among the Omaha Indians.

The anthology includes sixteen plates taken from the original publications, illustrations as evocative as those in the Just So Stories. One can sense here a scientific tradition being born—in botany, geology, and anthropology—and a new nation anxiously trying to catch up with the science of its northern neighbors. Perhaps historians are particularly susceptible to the charm of men who found the world fresh to the scientific eye, who thought that their awe before the wonders of nature was matter of fact, and whose condescension toward primitive people was curious and kind. As documents, these short, prosaic selections (there are often several from a single author) contain little that is more substantial. An anthology requires some specific justification, but in this case there is only the pleasantness of our own kindly condescension toward the naturalists of the nineteenth century.

University of Michigan RAYMOND GREW

THE FALL AND RISE OF MODERN ITALY. By *Serge Hughes.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. xiv, 322. $6.95.)

AFTER puzzling some time over Serge Hughes's book, I remain bewildered as to why he bothered to write it at all. It purports to be a general history of Italy from 1890 to the present, and hence it is apparently intended to fill a gap in the existing literature. Although it is true that no one-volume history in English covers precisely Hughes's time span, there is no lack of competent, reliable works that together present the same sequence of events. For the period down to the march on Rome, Denis Mack Smith is an obvious first choice, while Cecil Sprigge's elegant, compact account deserves republication. For the subsequent era, one can turn to the studies of Chabod, Kogan, Mammarella, and myself. To justify its existence, Hughes's new book has to offer something that these do not.

What, then, are its special features? A sprightly style; the situation of literature and political thought in the foreground, with the career of Benedetto Croce serving as counterpoint to the general story; a de-emphasis on the Fascist era; finally, the conviction—advanced by the author with a disarming ingenuousness—that a new periodization of modern Italian history should replace the conventional pre-Fascist, Fascist, and post-Fascist sequence, a periodization that puts into one era everything preceding the "opening to the Left" in 1963 and begins a new phase at this climactic point.

While I yield to no one in my enthusiasm, now somewhat tarnished by disappointment, for the governmental formula inaugurated five years ago, I submit that this kind of time delimitation is a rather odd procedure for a historian to

follow. One phase consists of three-quarters of a century packed with economic and ideological transformation; the second is at best a half decade of hope. So eccentric a presentation is both less novel than Hughes imagines and of little aid to comprehension. And the same is true of his other special features. His style is frequently so contrived as to make it impossible for the uninstructed reader to know what actually occurred. His Crocean counterpoint is more irritating than informative, interrupting the flow of the narrative with philosophical digressions whose relevance is only marginal. His telescoped treatment of Fascism leads him into a number of misinterpretations, as when he presents the chronology of the crucial years 1922–1924 in a thoroughly confused fashion or suggests that in the early 1930's "the old Socialist in Mussolini was very much alive, very much in command."

If one further notes that the text is strewn with minor errors of fact—Hughes has an annoying habit of citing dates exactly one year off, including the birth year of Croce himself—and that the organization of the individual chapters is invertebrate, while the emphases within them are erratic, one is obliged to conclude that far from adding to what is already available on modern Italy, Hughes has actually succeeded in subtracting from our understanding. In his introduction he pleads for his reader's indulgence on the grounds that "a historian can tranquilly savor a certain amount of disorder, consoled by the certainty that something worth doing is worth doing badly." I need say no more.

Harvard University H. Stuart Hughes

THE BATTLE FOR ITALY. By *W. G. F. Jackson*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1967. Pp. 372. $8.50.)

In a characteristically disarming foreword to this book, Field Marshal Lord Alexander expresses hope that this first strategic history of the Italian theater in World War II will rekindle interest in the controversial campaign he once commanded. Notwithstanding the thorough research and painstaking analysis undertaken by Major General Jackson in this important study, it is doubtful whether he will achieve Alexander's aim. Not merely is he too kind to the Americans, including such ruthless egos as Generals George Patton and Mark Clark, but, almost unique among the British, he treats the American arguments on behalf of an invasion of southern France with a fairness and understanding that they rarely receive. In short, this able staff officer has written the stuff of history, complete with detailed supporting appendixes, but hardly that of sales, despite the many and superb photographs.

In fact, Jackson manages to render justice to the subtle stratagems of Alexander's planners, to the resilient German armies of Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, and to the relative failure of Allied interdiction bombing of the German supply lines. Only the Italians and the political side of the war are noticeably neglected, and there are good reasons for not attempting to cover such complex and confusing issues in a campaign history of reasonable length.

Jackson may have overdone his case in universal charity with his justification of the Anzio episode. Here he appears too evasive regarding Churchill's political pressures for Rome or regarding Alexander's tendency to avoid clear-cut

orders to his American subordinates, in part, perhaps, because Jackson does not seem to have consulted the war diary of Lieutenant General John Lucas. Jackson might also have cited Lord Alanbrooke and Sir John Kennedy on the hopeless logistics of crossing the Alps in the disappointing autumn of 1944 since the Americans were obviously against doing so in any event.

Jackson's final conclusion on the campaign suffers from ambiguity. He maintains that, if Sir Harold Alexander fulfilled his strategic mission in holding the Germans down in the Mediterranean, there is "less certainty about the correctness of that mission." Jackson winds up, in fact, with the conventional evasion that the Americans were "too rigid" in their strategic thought and the British "too pragmatic." The issue still remains, nonetheless, one of for what ends were the strategic means of the British and Americans too pragmatic or too rigid. In practice the strategy of each Ally was perfectly valid as a method of executing its different policies. Consequently, the gist of the Italian campaign poses a problem that Jackson does not ultimately face in his otherwise superb campaign history: namely, what were the actual Anglo-American policies in Italy during the Second World War that necessarily evoked such conflicting strategies in Italy and elsewhere?

Drexel Institute TRUMBULL HIGGINS

A SHORT HISTORY OF MALTA. By *Brian Blouet.* [Praeger Short Histories.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. 253. $6.00.)

MALTA'S ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE. By *Edith Dobie.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 286. $5.95.)

DR. BLOUET'S study of Maltese history encompasses developments on the island from Neolithic man to self-government and independence in 1964. Yet it is more than a survey. In particular the chapters on the government of the Order of St. John are based on research in the archives of the order in the Royal Malta Library at Valletta and in the Valletta law courts, and the notarial archives and documents in the *Curia.* Besides discussing the quality of the administration of the order, Blouet adds new information on the growth of population and of towns and villages during this period. He is concerned not only with relating the heroic defense of the island against Suleiman and the Turks, but, throughout the book, he also assesses the participation of the Maltese people and the extent to which their lives were affected by the stream of history that centered on the island.

The chapters on Malta and Britain are based mainly on secondary sources, and, though Blouet deals with the material in perspective, he is led into two inaccuracies. In December 1800 directions were given by Abercrombie to Major General Pigot, in command at Malta, that Britain take the Maltese nation under its protection, but no formal protectorate was declared in London. And he is misled into stating "but from 1840 the islands were redeveloped, militarily, on a vast scale as Malta became a key position in an extensive maritime empire." Malta was of vital strategic significance to Britain during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but reliance on the fleet was held to be more important than expenditure on the fortifications of the island, though new works were

commenced after the Crimean War. But these reservations do not materially detract from what is essentially a sound and eminently readable study of Malta.

Professor Edith Dobie's researches have been in the Colonial Office Records in the Public Record Office, London, Parliamentary papers, and the reports of parliamentary debates in the House of Commons and the House of Lords, Command Papers; and, in Malta, the debates of the Council of Government and of the Legislative Assembly. For the twentieth century she also makes full use of the newspapers in Malta and Britain. Dobie has produced the first specialized analysis of the constitutional developments in Malta from 1800 to 1964. She emphasizes, in discussing the origins of constitutional endeavor on the part of the Maltese, their claim for a *Consiglio Popolare* and the particular conditions by which the Maltese placed themselves under the British government. The religious issue, the language question, education and finance, the origins of successive constitutions, and the reasons for rescinding them are all dealt with in scholarly terms. There is an important account of Strickland's struggle with the Church and its re-enactment in more extreme measures by Mintoff. The origins of the Maltese political parties and their electoral programs are discussed with valid conclusions concerning the tensions and antagonisms among the several leaders. The discussion of the development of the Labour party and trade-unionism in Malta is particularly useful. The several missions of political and economic advisers from Britain are given sympathetic treatment despite understanding of the pressure for independence by a growing number of the Maltese electorate. The final referendum is carefully analyzed, and the several factors in the formulation of the grant of independence are lucidly presented.

London School of Economics HILDA LEE

ACTA MVSEI NAPOCENSIS. Volume III. Edited by *C. Daicoviciu et al.* (Cluj: Comitetul de Stat pentru Cultură și Artă, Muzeul de Istorie. 1966. Pp. viii, 566. Lei 15.)

DURING the last ten years a number of new publications have appeared in Rumania that have given scholars a better opportunity to make the results of their research known to their colleagues at home and abroad. A valuable addition to this body of literature, especially for those who are interested in Transylvania, is *Acta Musei Napocensis,* which has been published annually since 1964 under the sponsorship of the Museum of History in Cluj.

The present volume contains forty-one articles, all of which deal with the history or prehistory of Transylvania except for a brief article by B. Daicoviciu treating the unlawful freeing of slaves among the Salian Franks and one by Al. Savu on the activities of progressive intellectuals in Rumania, generally in 1944–1945.

Six studies present the results of recent archaeological investigations of cultures dating from the early Neolithic Age to the second century B.C. They have made the chronology of the period and the relations between the peoples on the territory of modern Rumania and those to the east and south more precise. N. Vlassa describes in detail the so-called Criș culture, the oldest Neolithic culture of the Transylvanian Plateau; Şt. Ferenczi analyzes a Scythian grave site of

the fifth or sixth century B.C. in Ciumbrud, and V. Vasiliev does the same for a Scythian grave of the sixth century discovered in Reghin in 1964; Iudita Winkler describes the minor coinage of the peoples north of the Danube in the second century B.C.; I. H. Crișan's study of a sanctuary of the second century B.C. near the commune of Pecica offers new information on Dacian religious practices; Sigismund Jakó provides a thorough and interesting account of the most significant archaeological work done on the Dacian fortresses in southern Transylvania until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Two major studies, by M. Macrea and C. Daicoviciu, are based upon the exhaustive use of printed sources and secondary works and treat the period of Roman rule in Dacia. The footnotes accompanying both articles are veritable bibliographies of the subjects treated.

The period of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance is represented by S. Dragomir and S. Belu in a study of the petty Rumanian nobility in western Transylvania in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; by Fr. Pap and Winkler in an analysis of numerous hoards of Polish coins uncovered in Transylvania from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century and their significance for the history of trade relations between the two countries; by I. Bitay whose interesting discussion of the penetration of the literature, history, and philosophy of the ancient world, influenced by humanism and the Protestant Reformation, into Transylvania in the second half of the sixteenth century is an original contribution to the study of the migration of ideas from west to east; and by I. I. Russu in a portrait of the Transylvanian humanist Stephanus Zamosius (1565–1612) and an evaluation of his contributions to the epigraphy of Roman Dacia.

Two illustrated studies provide some idea of the rich holdings of the Museum of History in Cluj: Magdalena Bunta's work on the seals used by Transylvanian guilds from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century and Anamaria Ardos' and Ştefan Lakatos' investigation of musical instruments of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Mircea Ţoca describes the beautiful details of late baroque façades, especially of the Bánffy Palace, in Cluj.

Many contributions are concerned with the period of the development of the modern Rumanian national movement in Transylvania between the latter decades of the eighteenth century and the end of the First World War. Some of these deal primarily with economic matters: M. Ştirban describes the restlessness in the villages prior to the large-scale peasant uprising led by Hora in 1784–1785; Liviu Botezan and Maria Roșca-Rosen study the functioning of the *loca curialia* on landed estates between 1785 and 1820; L. Vajda and M. Mirel trace the vicissitudes of the salt mining industry in Transylvania between 1848 and 1867; Bujor Surdu describes the establishment of the first Rumanian credit institution in Transylvania; N. Cordoș and I. Kovács survey the newspapers, handbooks, and other writings of Rumanian agronomists in Transylvania after the abolition of serfdom in 1848; Vasile Vesa explains how the Rumanians of Transylvania benefited from the fairs and cultural exhibitions that they organized in the second half of the nineteenth century. On Rumanian political and cultural life in Transylvania there are short contributions by Nicolae Edroiu appraising the first account of Hora's uprising in a general world history, and by L. Ursuțiu who discusses opposition to the proposals of 1879 to make the study of Magyar obliga-

tory in all elementary schools. Pompiliu Teodor describes in detail the contributions of George Barițiu to the publication and circulation of *Magazin Istoric pentru Dacia.*

Finally, four articles deal with various political and economic problems in the period 1944–1947. Although they draw upon a variety of published and unpublished sources and contain useful information on subjects until now generally neglected, they suffer from one-sided political interpretations.

This collection of articles, with the exception just noted, maintains a consistently high level of scholarship. The majority represent new and original contributions to their respective fields and merit the attention even of scholars who are not specialists in Rumanian history. They provide specialist and nonspecialist alike with insight into the directions that contemporary Rumanian historiography is taking.

University of Illinois KEITH HITCHINS

LA VIE QUOTIDIENNE EN SERBIE AU SEUIL DE L'INDÉPENDANCE, 1815–1839. By *Georges Castellan.* [La vie quotidienne.] ([Paris:] Hachette. [1967.] Pp. 331. 15 fr.)

LA CULTURE SERBE AU SEUIL DE L'INDÉPENDANCE (1800–1840): ESSAI D'ANALYSE PSYCHOLOGIQUE D'UNE CULTURE À DISTANCE TEMPORELLE. By *Yvonne Castellan.* [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Poitiers, Number 4.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1967. Pp. 166. 20 fr.)

CONCERNED with the same culture area—Serbia or, in Turkish idiom, the "land of pigs"—and covering approximately the same period—the early decades of the nineteenth century—the Castellan books embrace similar problems: the struggle for national liberation; the rural family and the village; territorial, administrative, representative, and economic institutions; crime and punishment; brigands and heroes; abduction and other rites of passage; food, housing, and dress; witchcraft and superstition; and art, religion, and literature. They differ, however, in methodology and emphasis.

Georges Castellan performs primarily as a social historian. As such, he focuses on the problem of change, which at this time took the form of social differentiation, Europeanization, and modernization, including the introduction among such "elite" elements as Prince Miloš's family, Greeks and Tsintsars, merchants and bureaucrats, and "Swabian" Serbs, of zinc dishes, silver knives and forks, crystal glasses, "Hungarian" architecture, European games of chance, "western" fashions, French and Hungarian cuisine, and a printing press. Castellan thus devotes considerable attention to schools, towns and crafts, *cafés* and inns, fairs and markets, money and prices, merchants and monopolists, and the organization of a health service and quarantine and postal systems. Other aspects of his emphasis on modernity include a discussion of land reclamation and, in a chapter on demography, of Serbia as a region of "new colonization."

In a final chapter, however, he turns from the newest, most fragile, most foreign, and least rural manifestations of culture to Serbia's folk culture—the center of Mme. Castellan's concerns—and he reaches the same general conclu-

sion: Serbia was then a superficially patriarchal society with a fundamentally matriarchal culture. Mme. Castellan is a psychologist. As such, she projects an ethnopsychological analysis of the "basic personality" structure of a "whole culture," that of Serbia, studied "at a distance" in time as well as in space. Her time perspective (1800–1840) is horizontal and a homogeneous unit, rather than vertical, but her book should greatly interest historians.

After a discussion of methodology and of various problems of Serbian folk culture and psychology, she draws several significant conclusions. Noting the existence of a plurality of father figures (uncles, elders, and godfathers) instead of a single paternal authority and the Serbian stress on sibling relationships, she characterizes Serbian culture, despite its patriarchal official religion, as a "matriarchal" culture founded on the principle of equality between brothers. She further identifies it as an oral rather than an anal culture, inclined to minimize the importance of cleanliness, precision, continuity of thought and effort, and material goods. In its self-image and world view, moreover, Serbian folk culture carefully distinguished between the group (Serbians and other Orthodox southern Slavs) and the antigroup (Muslims and Turks) and learned to function efficiently by emphasizing such forms of production and consumption as maize, the vine, and pigs, which the dominant antigroup most heartily disdained. The one large sector of Serbian society that was exhibitionist, valued material possessions, and engaged in an exploration of the "world" was the society of brigands and heroes, to which would be added after 1830 those cultural deviators who receive M. Castellan's special attention.

The studies of Mme. and M. Castellan provide a valuable introduction to the Serbian culture of 150 years ago. They may also make an understanding of the Serbian and Yugoslav cultures of today easier.

Rutgers University Traian Stoianovich

DOCUMENTE PRIVIND ISTORIA ROMÂNIEI: COLECŢIA EUDOXIU DE HURMUZAKI (SERIE NOUĂ) [Documents Pertaining to the History of Rumania: The Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki Collection (New Series)]. Volume III, SOLIDARITATEA ROMÂNILOR DIN TRANSILVANIA CU MIŞCAREA LUI TUDOR VLADIMIRESCU [Solidarity of Rumanians from Transylvania with the Movement of Tudor Vladimirescu]. Documents collected and published by *A. Oţetea.* [Academia Republicii Socialiste România, Institutul de Istorie "N. Iorga."] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România. 1967. Pp. 684. Lei 43.)

In 1945 Andrei Oţetea published one of the most distinguished contributions to the history of Rumania on the Tudor Vladimirescu revolt of 1821. In 1959 he directed the publication of a multivolume collection of documents related to that revolt, and in 1967 he compiled and edited this volume.

Oţetea won acclaim for his study of 1945 because he characterized Vladimirescu's uprising as a "social" rather than "national" movement. The documents published in 1959 were selected to emphasize the elements of social revolution in 1821, with exaggerated stress on the participation of the masses in the uprising. The latest compilation, reflecting the current political attitudes of the

Rumanian regime, reverts to pre-1945 interpretations of the events of 1821 according to which Vladimirescu was the leader of a nationalist movement directed against the enemies of the Rumanian nation.

Oțetea is too scrupulous and too able a historian to abandon the fundamental thesis expounded in 1945. He therefore evolves a theory of "national" identification between the Rumanian masses of Transylvania and those of Wallachia and Moldavia based on common opposition to socioeconomic oppression. The 525 documents selected from the Hungarian State Archives in Budapest to illustrate this theory are persuasive. A somewhat different case could have been made, however, by using other sources contained in the same archives.

It is undeniable that the imperial authorities and the Magyar landowners in Transylvania were alarmed by the uprising of 1821 and that at least some Transylvanian peasants were aware of the actions of their "brethren." But the concept of "national" identification as expounded by Oțetea remains questionable, at least until the entire body of evidence is made available. It would be most interesting to establish the existence of mass nationalism among Rumanians from as early as 1821, and we are awaiting incontrovertible proof from Oțetea and other distinguished students of Rumanian history to that effect.

University of Colorado STEPHEN FISCHER-GALATI

SOZIALDEMOKRATIE IN UNGARN: ZUR ROLLE DER INTELLIGENZ IN DER ARBEITERBEWEGUNG 1899–1910. By *Tibor Süle*. [Beiträge zur Geschichte Osteuropas, Number 6.] (Köln Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1967. Pp. x, 243. DM 38.)

THE purpose of this highly absorbing chapter in the history of the socialist movement is to show how the Hungarian Social Democratic party responded to the problems inherent in its growth from a small artisans' group in 1890 to a mass party ten years later. The author presents both challenge and response as intimately bound with the peculiar conditions of Hungary. The working-class leaders of the party completely espoused the German, or orthodox Marxist, program for achieving socialism through the gradual expansion of democratic institutions by "majority vote" in a country where all political life was in the hands of the nobility. In an attempt to build a mass movement for universal suffrage and legal working-class institutions, with a semiliterate rank and file and no influence in the countryside, the leadership turned to the radical Hungarian intelligentsia. Intellectuals such as Oszkár Jászi, most of whom were of bourgeois origin, were already disillusioned with the liberal gentry who had long abandoned any serious aims of social regeneration in Hungary for nationalist disputation with the Habsburg monarchy. Through the influence of the ideas of Positivism and Herbert Spencer and the subsequent preoccupation with sociology, these intellectuals looked, by the turn of the century, to the socialist movement as the only force for such regeneration. They entered the service of Hungarian social democracy as leading popularizers of Marxism and socialism. University students such as Ervin Szabó joined the party to become teachers, agitators, editors, and theoreticians. But this worker-intellectual alliance did not flourish, and its demise determined the party's development between 1899 and 1910. The in-

tellectuals, on different theoretical grounds, began to oppose the orthodoxy of the leadership. Whether revisionist, syndicalist, or Left-orthodox, the intellectuals called for actions they felt to be more appropriate to Hungarian conditions, such as extraparliamentary action and, above all, the organization of agrarian workers. But neither the long debates, nor the Emperor-King's new compromise with the Hungarian nobility in 1907, nor the ensuing militant mood of the workers in city and countryside could convince the party majority to give up its exclusive concern with suffrage. The intellectuals drifted away: Jászi and his group turned to the radical republicanism of the French model; others simply withdrew from politics. The result, according to Mr. Süle, was a party less capable of responding to the particular needs of the movement in Hungary.

Although more socioeconomic indexes and a more critical analysis of the Hungarian Social Democrats' lack of concern with the nationalities question would have been helpful, this cannot detract from an account uniquely valuable not only for its contribution to the background of the Hungarian Revolution of 1918–1919 but to Hungarian intellectual history as well.

Columbia University ISTVAN DEAK

EREIGNISSE IN DER UKRAINE, 1914–1922: DEREN BEDEUTUNG UND HISTORISCHE HINTERGRÜNDE. Volume II, DER BRESTER FRIEDENSVERTRAG MIT DER UKRAINE—(PROTOKOLLE—BEDEUTUNG FÜR DIE UKRAINISCHE EIGENSTAATLICHKEIT—AUSWIRKUNGEN IN RUSSLAND UND IN POLEN)—AUFFINDUNG VON RELIQUIEN DES HEILIGEN JOSAPHAT—TÄTIGKEIT DES UKRAINISCHEN GRIECHISCH-KATHOLISCHEN METROPOLITEN, GRAFEN ANDREAS SZEPTYCKYJ, IN DER UKRAINE UND IN RUSSLAND FÜR DIE KIRCHLICHE UNION MIT ROM. By *Theophil Hornykiewicz*. [Publications of the W. K. Lypynsky East European Research Institute, Series I–IV, Volume II.] (Philadelphia: [the Institute.] 1967. Pp. xlviii, 484. $14.00.)

THIS second work in a projected four-volume series deserves the attention of scholars as much as the first one (*AHR,* LXXII [July 1967], 1445) did. The book contains a wealth of original and important documents, most of which have not been available to the historian of East Central Europe previously. This observation is particularly true of those documents related to the histories of Austria-Hungary, the Ukraine, and Poland. Also included are documents concerning the activities of the Ukrainian Uniate Church in the territories occupied by Austrian troops, especially Cholmland, and involving the person of the metropolitan, Count Andreas Sheptycky. The biographer of this uncrowned prince of the Ukrainian people will find highly interesting material in notes exchanged between Vienna and Rome that mention him as a potential candidate for cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church. Count Sheptycky's missionary effort to bring the Orthodox Church into union with Rome is the subject of many of the documents.

From a large array of political documents, 169 of them deal with the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty with the Ukraine of February 9, 1918, while 93 of them actually cover the controversial issue of Cholmland, where Polish and Ukrainian

interests clashed. Thus, with this volume available and with the already known documents of the German Foreign Office from German archives, which were partly revealed in an excellent study by W. Baumgart (*Deutsche Ostpolitik 1918: Von Brest-Litowsk bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges* [1966]), it is now possible to examine in depth German-Austro-Hungarian-Ukrainian relations of 1917–1918. In view of the importance of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty to the young Ukrainian state, Dr. Hornykiewicz' second volume's complete listing of the Austrian Staatsarchiv documents will be essential to the examination of the modern history of this nation by future scholars. Several documents also illuminate the activities of the Polish Regency Council during 1917–1918.

This collection of documents features an extensive introduction in which the author provides the historical milieu that gave rise to these documents and comments on the importance of some of them. The appended index of persons and subjects, as well as a list of places, adds to the usefulness of this work.

The merits of this publication are many, and a quotation from the reviewer of the first volume best expresses my feelings: "Professor Hornykiewicz deserves gratitude for a task well done."

Eastern Illinois University STEPHEN M. HORAK

KOŁO POLSKIE W ROSYJSKIEJ DUMIE PAŃSTWOWEJ W LATACH 1906–1909 [The Polish Circle in the Russian State Duma, 1906–1909]. By *Zygmunt Łukawski*. [Polska Akademia Nauk, Oddział w Krakowie. Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych, Number 17.] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1967. Pp. 185. Zł. 35.)

IT is gratifying to note the appearance of studies on the neglected subject of the Polish Circle in the Russian Dumas. Mr. Łukawski's short monograph covers the period 1906–1909, that is, the First and Second Dumas and the first years of the Third. Mirosław Wierzchowski has published a longer work on the Polish question in the Third and Fourth Dumas (*Sprawy Polskie w III i IV Dumie Państwowej* [1966]).

Łukawski traces the changing program of the dominant party, the National Democrats, from a platform of political autonomy, to provincial autonomy, and finally to a resignation from any kind of autonomy and a demand merely for municipal self-government, Polish schools, Polish judges, and the jury system. He traces this de-escalation against the background of the electoral reform of 1907 and the strength of the tsarist government, supported as it was by considerable Western loans in 1906–1907. He also discusses Dmowski's efforts to obtain concessions for Poland within the framework of the Neo-Slavic movement in 1909. The study ends with the introduction of the government resolution for the separation of the Chełm district from the kingdom of Poland.

The author's judgment on the Polish Circle is that its efforts achieved no positive results, although he admits that, given the political circumstances, it would have been extremely difficult to obtain any important concessions. He concludes, nevertheless, that the circle's loyalist support of key government resolutions alienated Russian progressive opinion, the natural ally of the Poles. Wier-

zchowski's more detailed study ends on the same note, though with more attention to the writings of Lenin.

From the perspective of sixty years it is possible to reflect that the Polish Circle in the Russian Dumas was doomed to failure, just as was the Polish Circle in Berlin since both faced strong nationalistic governments that did not consider Polish wishes sufficiently important to warrant any significant concessions. It is also ironic that while public opinion in Russian Poland favored compromise within the boundaries of the Russian Empire, the government and the extreme Right-wing parties persisted in seeing the Poles as unregenerate rebels. In view of the circumstances of the time, the circle's conservative politics and alienation of Russian Socialist opinion are irrelevant to its failure. Its experience did demonstrate, however, that there was little hope for achieving even the most moderate demands through parliamentary means.

This study is an interesting contribution to the history of the Polish question in Russia. More useful results could have been obtained if the author had worked in cooperation with Wierzchowski and had written a more detailed study of the Polish Circle in the First and Second Dumas.

University of Kansas ANNA M. CIENCIALA

ISTORIIA SSSR: S DREVNEISHIKH VREMEN DO NASHIKH DNEI [History of the USSR: From Earliest Times to Our Days]. First Series, S DREVNEISHIKH VREMEN DO VELIKOI OKTIABR'SKOI SOTSIALISTICHESKOI REVOLIUTSII [From Earliest Times to the Great October Socialist Revolution]. Volume I, PERVOBYTNO OBSHCHINNYI STROI; DREVNEISHIE GOSUDARSTVA ZAKAVKAZ'IA I SREDNEI AZII; DREVNIAIA RUS' (DO NACHALA XIII V.) [The System of Primitive Communism; The Earliest States of Transcaucasia and Middle Asia; Ancient Rus' (To the Beginning of the 13th Century)]. Edited by *S. A. Pletneva* and *B. A. Rybakov*. [Institut Arkheologii.] Volume II, BOR'BA NARODOV NASHEI STRANY ZA NEZAVISIMOST' V XIII–XVII VV.; OBRAZOVANIE EDINOGO RUSSKOGO GOSUDARSTVA [The Struggle of the Peoples of Our Country for Independence in the 13th-17th Century; The Formation of a Unified Russian State]. Edited by *M. N. Tikhomirov et al.* [Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1966. Pp. xxxi; 718; 630.)

THESE two volumes represent the first installment of a fresh, ambitious effort to harness the best of Soviet historical scholarship in the service of the struggle of the Soviet people "for Peace, Labor, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and the Happiness of all mankind," equated to "the struggle for the building of communism." An earlier attempt to compress the whole history of all the peoples currently embraced in the Soviet Union produced the nine-volume *Ocherki Istorii SSSR* [Outlines of the History of the USSR] (1953–57) before it bogged down at the threshold of the nineteenth century.

It may be interesting to compare the initial fruits of these two efforts. In both cases the writing is collegial, though, especially in the earlier work, the authors of individual sections are identified. Both draw heavily on archaeology and re-

lated sciences, and both frankly confess that particular topics have not yet been adequately explored. The earlier one emphasized the "economic base," while the present one subordinates economics to politics and even to "accidental factors." The earlier volumes were far larger, with room for far more detail and a greater number of illustrations, with space for extended, and often repetitious, theoretical commentaries on the significance, within the framework of Marxist-Leninist ideology, of the facts recorded. The present volumes, individually much smaller, attempt to cover a period to which almost six of the earlier volumes were devoted. Much of the detail that made the earlier work valuable for reference has had to be sacrificed; fortunately, the interpretive comment has, save for the foreword, almost completely vanished, leaving the narrative to tell the same Marxist tale, with little benefit from the prophets to fill gaps in the knowledgeability of the historians. The present volumes dispense with the helpful footnotes citing sources of information on particular points, but they add a bibliography classified by chapters. A significant proportion of the titles, especially collections of sources, bear prerevolutionary dates.

In general the interpretation is closely similar to that in the earlier works. Rybakov's blast at "Normanists" is virtually intact, but Pokrovskii is no longer a mere vulgarizer, and the treatment of Ivan IV has again become more assured. In Pokrovskii's initial attempt, before World War I, to write a Marxist history of Russia, Ivan was a grotesque monster, though his reign had great "progressive" significance in promoting the transition from "feudalism" to the reign of "commercial capital." In Stalin's time, Zipper transmuted Ivan into a heroic figure who, obviously paralleling Stalin, had struck down the mighty to make Russia a happier place for the lowly. In the *Ocherki* published after Stalin's death but before Khrushchev's "secret speech," the writers were evidently cautious, content to record established facts, essentially without interpretation or even personal characterization. This work returns to an interpretation implicitly suggestive of Stalin's regime: that Ivan's reign had great "progressive" value in that it centralized the state as a prerequisite to significant economic advance, though by bizarre, almost insane, methods that subjected not only the boyars but the mass of the people to incredible suffering.

Brooklyn College JESSE D. CLARKSON

PRINCE MAZEPA, HETMAN OF UKRAINE, IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH PUBLICATIONS, 1687–1709. By *Theodore Mackiw.* (Chicago: Ukrainian Research and Information Institute. 1967. Pp. 126. $3.00.)

DR. Mackiw modestly represents this book as a study of the items about Hetman Mazepa that appeared in English publications, 1687–1709. The work is far more than that. A more pretentious title would not have been suitable either, however. The book is not a full-fledged anything except, possibly, a "Mazepa Miscellany." It does discuss, with many digressions, those usually very brief items about Mazepa that appeared in English print, but this is thin material and of little value either for understanding Mazepa or for a history of the English press and memoirs. Far more interesting are Mackiw's much more extensive presentations of non-English materials from scores of often obscure continental sources.

Although it does not add up to a biography, loving attention to biobibliographical detail is evident, and, in spite of minor errors that should have been caught in the editing, Mazepa scholars will find much of value in the collection.

Mackiw's personal scholarly judgments on several disputed facets of Mazepa's life come through strongly and often clearly influence the presentation of the source material. This is particularly true in connection with the question of Mazepa's "treason." The hetman threw in his lot with Charles XII, we are told, because he wished to keep war away from the Ukraine. Mackiw is anxious to show that Mazepa, therefore, was not a traitor and that contemporaries either did not regard him as such or were influenced by Peter the Great. The analysis is interesting. At best, however, we come away with the impression that there is obviously more to be said on the subject. Analysis of greater portions of the unpublished archival records would seem to be a logical next step.

California Institute of Technology HEINZ E. ELLERSIECK

RUSSIAN ECONOMIC POLICY UNDER NICHOLAS I. By *Walter McKenzie Pintner.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 291. $8.75.)

THIS monograph is another of the much-needed studies filling in the background of Russian history of the nineteenth century. In itself a work without startling conclusions, it adds significant detail about the period of the gendarme of Europe.

What seems to be emerging is a new concept of Nicholas I. Far from being the all-powerful tyrant that British liberals and Karl Marx saw, he is revealed by Dr. Pintner as a monarch faced with such a host of economic problems that he lapsed into what might be termed the timidity of poverty. Certainly Kankrin, on whom the Tsar chiefly relied, always avoided constructive efforts, especially after the bureaucracy's fiasco with the liquor problem. The high tariff was to protect existing interests, not to encourage new ones, and when the beet sugar industry and the production of cotton thread unexpectedly developed, these were unsought by-products of the fiscal system. Only by cautious aid to technical education and by an attempt to give higher prestige to businessmen did Kankrin seek to promote industrial development, with trifling results. Resolutely against efforts to reform the landlord-serf relationship, he devoted much of Russia's available capital to useless loans to the nobility (why "gentrymen"?), which he realized were wasted. Kankrin was a stubborn foe of railroad building, which he believed would be expensive, risky, and of little value. He even trifled with the problem of currency reform long after its necessity was obvious.

Eventually the cautious Tsar felt it necessary to turn from Kankrin's timidity to a more positive policy. Kiselev's efforts to reform the status of the state peasants and the Tsar's sponsorship of the first rail lines illustrate the new trend. But again the results were slight. Pintner makes it clear that Nicholas remained loyal to Kankrin's system, and his departures from it were neither effective nor consistent. The new tariff in 1850 was framed to bring in more revenue and gave little support to industrial development. Apparently the monarch's belief in upholding the nobility at all costs and maintaining a big army prevented effective measures to build up the country's productive forces. The author points out that

while both Kankrin and the Tsar wanted larger cities to consume more farm products, they were fearful that urban growth would bring concentrations of troublesome, even dangerous, commoners. Thus, during this period, Russia steadily fell further and further behind the advancing nations of the West. Pintner has helped to show why this happened.

Duke University JOHN S. CURTISS

THE CRISIS OF RUSSIAN POPULISM. By *Richard Wortman.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 211. $7.50.)

IN this admirable study, Professor Wortman projects a penetrating shaft of light upon a critical phase in the history of the Russian revolutionary movement. The first part of the book persuasively relates the rise of Populist values in the 1860's and 1870's to the changing character of Russian society, showing how the peasantry filled a psychological void and not just a political need for a generation that rejected its whole background and heritage. The crisis of the book's title arose around the end of the 1870's from the confrontation of the idealized Populist image with the discovered realities of peasant life. The emphasis here is not, however, upon the failures of the successive Populist revolutionary organizations, which is the familiar approach. Instead, the confrontation is explored in chapters on three important writers on peasant life—Engel'gardt, Uspenskii, and Zlatovratskii—in shorter excursions into the *Narodnik* economic writings of Daniel'son and Vorontsov, and in still briefer examinations of a few lesser figures.

A student of Professor Haimson, the author is particularly concerned with the complexities of the changing relationship between the intelligentsia and the peasantry. He relies heavily upon, while managing to avoid the pitfalls of, the relatively untried and hazardous techniques of psychological analysis. This methodology is brought into play particularly with respect to the personal crises experienced by his witnesses of rural life, whose psychological order and world outlook had been grounded upon their image of the peasantry. Wortman taps a rich store of material in the stories, publicistic writings, letters, and autobiographical fragments of his three chief figures. He exploits this material with a rare sensitivity, portraying concretely and movingly the dramatic wreck of Populist illusions and the varied efforts to salvage from the wreckage a viable position. In the face of a repugnant reality one protagonist retreats into scientific studies, another loses his mental balance, a third takes refuge in flights of fantasy, while the economic analysts comfort themselves with conclusions at odds with their data. Still, the revival of Populism in a "refurbished" form in the 1890's suggests that the earlier rout may not have been as total as Wortman indicates.

Imaginatively conceived, lucidly organized, and gracefully written, this slim volume decidedly clarifies the disintegration of Populism; it also contributes to our understanding of the rise of Russian Marxism. More than that, the insights it provides may encourage other scholars to focus upon Russian history, as Wortman has, some of the fruitful concepts and techniques of the social sciences.

University of California, San Diego SAMUEL H. BARON

RÉFORME ET RÉVOLUTION CHEZ LES MUSULMANS DE L'EMPIRE RUSSE: BUKHARA 1867–1924. By *Hélène Carrère d'Encausse.* Preface by *Maxime Rodinson.* [Cahiers de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Number 141.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1966. Pp. 311.)

To write a history of reform and revolution among the Muslims of the Russian Empire is no easy task. The Tatars of the Volga and the Crimea, the tribes of the Caucasus, the Azerbaijanis, the Turkish and Iranian peoples of Central Asia represent such a variety of languages, cultural levels, traditions, and styles of life that they cannot usefully be covered even by the broad term Muslim any more than the English, the Spaniards, the Austrians, and the Russians can be subsumed under the term Christian. Mme. d'Encausse tries to avoid the difficulty inherent in the title of her book by subtitling it *Bukhara 1867–1924.* She fails, however, to limit herself to the emirate and deals with many matters involving all of Central Asia.

The first of the nine chapters comprising this book describes Bukhara on the eve of its conquest by Russia. The system of landholding, the economy, the social structure, the state, and religion are examined in short subchapters, each reminiscent of a brief encyclopedia article. There follow similarly patterned chapters on the conquest, the background of reformist thought, national awakening, the fall of the Russian Empire, the October Revolution, and the People's Republic of Bukhara. Each is based on extensive reading and crammed with facts, and all but the last suffer from the defects of the first chapter: an overabundance of material that simply cannot be handled in 281 pages.

The story itself is worth telling. Bukhara occupied an anomalous position within the Russian Empire, a kind of backward Asiatic Finland. The emirate's standing in Muslim eyes, as well as its proximity to Afghanistan and India, endowed it with an importance unwarranted by its strength, resources, or culture. Unfortunately, the author pays almost no attention to the broad issues of Russian foreign policy in Asia and does not examine their influence on the development of relations between Russia and its Bukharan protectorate. The rise of the Jadíd movement, a native response to the challenge of the West, and the reliance of the Jadíd Westernizers on Russian elements from Cadets to Bolsheviks have parallels in other colonial areas.

The last chapter is the best. The author gives a coherent narrative of the dramatic years during which a small portion of a backward people tried to emancipate Bukhara from colonial rule and find a native way to modernization. The Bukhara Jadíds failed essentially for the same reason as the Azerbaijanis, or even the highly advanced Georgians—the overwhelming weight of Russia.

In spite of its many shortcomings, this well-documented study makes a contribution to the growing literature on the non-Russian portions of the Russian Empire. It also provides a timely reminder on the fiftieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution that the latter precipitated the first large-scale anti-imperialist movement of the century, a movement whose failure does not diminish its significance.

Yale University FIRUZ KAZEMZADEH

DVIZHENIE REVOLIUTSIONNOGO NARODNICHESTVA: NARODNICHESKIE KRUZHKI I "KHOZHDENIE V NAROD" V 70-KH GODAKH XIX V. [The Revolutionary Narodnik Movement: Narodnik Societies and "Going to the People" in the 1870's]. By *B. S. Itenberg.* [Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1965. Pp. 442.)

NARODNAIA VOLIA, 1879–1882 ["The Will of the People," 1879–1882]. By *S. S. Volk.* [Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Leningradskoe Otdelenie Instituta Istorii.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1966. Pp. 490.)

These two books, both based on great quantities of archival material and displaying a very high order of scholarship, are quite complementary. Itenberg's volume deals with the Populist movement of the 1870's, particularly with the climactic "going to the people" of 1873–1875; Volk, in effect, picks up the story as it continued with the party of the "People's Freedom" (*Narodnaia Volia*), the assassination of Alexander III on March 1, 1881, and the virtual destruction of the party.

The ideological premises of Populism are well known, though Itenberg reexamines them in great detail. In essence they amounted to a belief in the socialist nature of peasant character and of the inherent peasant social structure; hence, in brief, the actions of the Populists were directed to evoking a peasant socialist revolution. Considering its great significance for the Russian intelligentsia's thought, the "going to the people" was very brief—1873–1874—and involved comparatively few people. The explanation for this seeming paradox may lie in the social structure of the Narodniks.

On this, Itenberg has assembled some interesting data: Of the 1735 Populists whose social origin was determined when they were prosecuted by the government, 491 (28.2 per cent) were of gentry origin; 233 came from low military ranks, and 288 from families of priests (established as a distinct legal-social group). Of the 1703 whose occupations were known to the police, 296 were students in universities and institutes; 165 came from high schools of various types; 274 were urban workers; 134 were teachers. The largest single group from higher education, supplied by the Medico-Surgical Academy, contained 142 men. Finally, the age distribution of 1,665 of the Populists showed that 87.2 per cent were under 30; of these, 458 were under 21, and 640 were between 21 and 25 years of age. This was then, with all the modern analogies one may wish to draw, the flower of the Russian intelligentsia's youth.

As it happened, the Populists went to the people with revolutionary political slogans and encountered a peasantry whose interests were practical and limited (largely to problems of land). The outcome was, in this case, truly predictable, providing us with the statistical information gathered by the police.

The next stage, vividly described by Volk, was set by the smashing up of the "going to the people": on the one hand, the ideology remained largely the same—totally revolutionary—while on the other hand, the small number of Populists who survived the roundups of the 1870's had neither the organization nor the resources to raise the masses. In consequence, *Narodnaia Volia* turned to terror, which allowed for a revolutionary ideology and a revolutionary program while requiring a very small number of participants. But even within the terrorist con-

text the resources were too small, and in the years 1879–1881 everything was sacrificed to the hunt mounted against the person of the Tsar. With the success of March 1, 1881, the party had neither a program to go on with nor anyone left to carry it out.

The conclusions that can be drawn from both these studies seem self-evident: The Populist movement felt, correctly, the general unrest in the country, but it contributed an ideology of political revolution that meant little to the peasants. The movement lacked proper revolutionary organization, and it lacked a mass base. In fact it appears as a heroic effort of Russian youth who managed to disregard virtually all the preconditions for revolution worked out by Marx.

University of Rochester MICHAEL CHERNIAVSKY

THE BRIDGE AND THE ABYSS: THE TROUBLED FRIENDSHIP OF MAXIM GORKY AND V. I. LENIN. By *Bertram D. Wolfe.* [Published for the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. x, 180. $5.95.)

LENIN: THE MAN, THE THEORIST, THE LEADER. A REAPPRAISAL. Editors: *Leonard Schapiro* and *Peter Reddaway.* Assistant Editor: *Paul Rosta.* [Published in association with the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. x, 317. $7.50.)

GORKY alone among the titans of Russian letters made the transition from the "Lower Depths" of tsarist Russia, which he knew so well at firsthand, to the incredible depths to which revolutionary Russia descended through Lenin to Stalin. In Wolfe's story, the Gorky-Lenin relationship in its prerevolutionary phase was a debate between a God-seeking humanitarian and the angry atheist whom he so admired. After the Revolution their mutual affection turned into a *danse macabre* performed on a stage heaped high with the victims of civil war and famine, Cheka inquisitions and random murder.

The author pays reverential tribute to the gallant and tubercular writer whose astonishing capacity for self-sacrifice enabled him to preserve Russian culture at a time when an intellectual's life was valued far below that of a goat. Gorky, like most of the great literary figures, had resisted tsarist tyranny, and he resisted that of Lenin with equal tenacity. But Lenin is done no injustice in this book. Irritated by Gorky's endless pleas on behalf of starving, freezing, or arrested poets, physicists, and scholars, he would shout, "Do you know what a revolution is?" Then, after much table banging, with the faces of both men flushed, Lenin would give in. Wolfe's book, dealing with events of a half century ago, is as fresh as today's paper (January 9, 1968) that tells of the current writers' trial in Moscow. The epic drama of Gorky and Lenin foreshadowed the tragic destiny of the Bolshevik-directed Russian Revolution to date: the demolition, in the name of "scientific" economics, of the magnificent advances of the human spirit that helped crush tsarism and that gave the Revolution birth. Wolfe's occasional didactic asides on the evils of Communism, the meaning of Russian words, and other things are annoying. This is, nevertheless, one of the most exciting reading experiences in the chronicling of the Russian Revolution.

The book edited by Professors Schapiro and Reddaway assembles a highly literate troop of English, Scottish, and Canadian scholars in a generally successful effort to render the enigmatic Lenin more intelligible by analyzing as separate topics many of the segments of his thought and politics. Readers are hereby warned to familiarize themselves with Lenin's career as a whole before attempting to participate in the authors' frequently intricate cerebral calisthenics. Deserving of special praise among the essays are Bohdan R. Bociurkiw's "Lenin and Religion," a gem of economy in scholarly writing, and John Erickson's "Lenin as Civil War Leader," that in twenty scintillant pages illumines both Lenin and the Civil War. Not as spectacular, but likely to become extremely serviceable as university teaching aids, are Ivo Lapenna's "Lenin, Law and Legality," John Keep's "Lenin as Tactician," and Victor S. Frank's "Lenin and the Russian Intelligentsia." Other knowledgeable essays are provided by the two editors, by Alec Nove, George Katkov, and Harry Willetts. The material taken up in "Lenin and Marxism" and "Lenin and the Nationalities Question," by J. C. Rees and Mary Holdsworth, respectively, is dealt with extensively in books and articles that the two authors would have been wise to consult.

City University of New York STANLEY W. PAGE

MARTOV: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY OF A RUSSIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRAT. By *Israel Getzler*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 246. $12.50.)

Martov is a chronicle of high-minded failure. It is the first book-length study of the great idealist of the Russian Revolution, the leader of the Left Wing of the Menshevik party who struggled to defend the ideal of democratic socialism equally against compromise on the Right and totalitarianism on the Left.

Now lecturer in history at the University of Adelaide in Australia, Mr. Getzler began his study of Martov as a doctoral dissertation at the London School of Economics. On the basis of thorough research in the published sources, the materials of the Columbia University Menshevik Project, the papers of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, and interviews with Martov's sister Lydia Dan, Getzler has produced a careful and useful biography of the great Social Democrat. He is particularly interesting on the little-known struggle of the Mensheviks to keep their opposition alive during the early years of the Soviet regime.

As he recounts Martov's life of political struggles in Russia, in exile, and in Russia again in the years of revolution, Getzler underscores the tragic paradox that the people with the ideals, the opportunity, and the popular support to create a new democratic and just Russia failed really to try when the time came and abdicated to the extremists. "Martov failed," Getzler writes, in summing up his contemporaries' opinions, because "he was too intellectual, lacked the will to action and power, had too many scruples, and was too doctrinaire." In other words, Martov was the perfect stereotype of the eternal intellectual. Getzler himself prefers to stress the purely theoretical inhibitions that made Martov reject power in 1917: conditions were not ripe à la Marx for proletarian rule.

Getzler's interpretation of Martov is cast entirely in ideological terms; he

makes it clear in his preface that he will not "pry into the intimacies of Martov's personal life," if indeed he had any. But with all that modern psychology has offered to the historical profession for the deepening of its insights, it is impossible to dismiss this dimension of inquiry in trying to explain Martov's baffling behavior at the decisive moments of his career. The spiritual scars and vacillating character, described for example by Leopold Haimson in *The Russian Marxists and the Origins of Bolshevism,* go much further toward an explanation of Martov's failure of 1917 than his Menshevik philosophizing, which is easy to recognize as the rationalization of a loss of nerve.

University of Vermont ROBERT V. DANIELS

THE FATE OF THE REVOLUTION: INTERPRETATIONS OF SOVIET HISTORY. By *Walter Laqueur.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. viii, 216. $5.95.)

AMID the flood of books and articles in observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution, there is of necessity much threshing of old straw. A fresh and illuminating approach is attempted by Walter Laqueur. His earlier writings are well and favorably known among students of Soviet affairs. His most recent work is a critical and well-written commentary on changing interpretations of the USSR by sundry Western and a few Soviet historians. He has succeeded admirably in his task and made another genuine contribution to knowledge.

No two scholars familiar with the vast literature in this field agree on what should be included or omitted in a selective survey. Laqueur comments in his preface: "If I were to rewrite this book now, perhaps I would exclude some writers and schools of thought and include others, but there is no ideal solution to satisfy everyone; a work many times this size would be needed, which would defeat its purpose." Here we have nine chapters, beginning with "Russia and the West" and "The Growth of Soviet Studies," followed by "1917," "Lenin: For and Against," "Stalin: For and Against," "E. H. Carr," and "Soviet Historiography," and concluding with "Interpretations of Soviet History" and "Lessons of Five Decades?"

I would question devoting whole sections to Henri Barbusse, Trotsky on Stalin, and Boris Souvarine. Conversely, Isaac Deutscher and Sir Bernard Pares are worthy of a section, and Carr is assuredly worthy of a whole chapter. Laqueur offers helpful biographical sketches and summations of published works. Of particular interest are Western evaluations of Lenin. The author does well to omit altogether the best seller of Robert Payne, which is a travesty; he is insufficiently critical of the books by Louis Fischer and S. Possony, both of which display evidence of racial prejudice.

Laqueur sagely observes: "Whether historians are superior to other observers in judging current political situations is open to doubt. The Russian experts, almost without exception, underrated the importance of the revolutionary movement. After the revolution their difficulties increased." His conclusion is that the historians, while striving for integrity, objectivity, and truth, should be modest

and content themselves with providing "a better understanding of probabilities." This work deserves the careful attention of historians and nonhistorians alike.

Williams College FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

L'OPPOSITION EN U.R.S.S., 1917–1967. By *Roland Gaucher.* [Histoire du xx^e siècle.] (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1967. Pp. 430. 27 fr.)

THIS is more a study of the Soviet state's policies with regard to those reluctant to support the system, or critical of it, than it is of the various forms of opposition to Communist rule.

Gaucher is a French journalist who has written a successful popular volume on Russian terrorists. This volume, which is one of a semisensational series, "Histoire du xx^e siècle," is a light, colorful book prepared for the general public. It is based on studies and memoirs published within the last ten years, mostly in French but on occasion in English, as well as news summaries from the Soviet press and Soviet journals. The four parts, of roughly equal length, deal with the period 1917–1927, when Trotsky was exiled; the 1930's, especially the purge of the party; the Second World War; and the period since the war. Gaucher is not systematic, and colorful figures and occurrences are allowed to overshadow more fundamental incidents and issues. Trotsky and the purges of the party in 1936–1938 are therefore given considerable space, as is the Kronstadt revolt. The issues at the source of the conflict are, generally, neither described nor analyzed, and Gaucher simply ascribes responsibility for disaffection to the nature of the Soviet system itself. The author's central theme is the crushing or overwhelming of the opposition, and he does succeed in describing well Stalin's genius in outmaneuvering and then destroying his opponents or rivals within the party. But even the most careful reader would not be able to ascertain the issue behind the actions.

Gaucher accepts the view widely held that Stalin was either poisoned or was allowed to die without adequate medical attention. He is also confident that the "land, language, and faith" will ultimately prevail and that the Communists will not succeed in creating a Communist society.

Indiana University ROBERT F. BYRNES

DOKUMENTY VNESHNEI POLITIKI SSSR [Documents on the Foreign Policy of the USSR]. Volume XII, 1 IANVARIA–31 DEKABRIA 1929 G. [January 1–December 31, 1929]. Edited by *I. I. Agaiants et al.* [Ministerstvo Inostrannykh Del SSSR, Komissiia po Izdaniiu Diplomaticheskikh Dokumentov pri MID SSSR.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi Literatury. 1967. Pp. 815.)

FOR the past decade the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been publishing selected documents on Soviet foreign policy, with the present volume bringing the record to December 1929. Critical opinion has held that the volumes are generally useful, reasonably reliable, highly eclectic, and hold few major surprises. The present volume does nothing to disturb earlier opinions.

Many of the 401 documents in this volume have always been available to those

who cared to take the trouble to find them. A healthy portion of them were printed in *Izvestiia* during the year 1929 or in various collections of laws and treaties. The archival materials, presumably published for the first time, do not go far beyond the earlier published materials. Indeed there is nothing in the volume that will launch a revisionist approach to the diplomatic history of the era; the documents serve to fill in some of the details, offer some indirect insights into Soviet motives and thought, and little more. Perhaps the most useful items are the memorandums of Soviet officials summing up their conversations with various foreign diplomats, particularly with the new German ambassador to Moscow, Herbert von Dirksen. It is also of interest to note the almost disproportionate involvement in diplomatic affairs of men such as Karakhan, Stomoniakov, and Krestinskii, all of whom were to be liquidated in a few years, historically as well as physically.

There are two obvious omissions from the documents: Stalin and Trotsky. The former, by 1929, had so consolidated his victory that he was making the major decisions in foreign policy, as well as in other areas, and surely must have had some direct correspondence with Soviet diplomats, but none of it is recorded here. The expulsion of Trotsky from the Soviet Union in January 1929 and his exile to Turkey, after Germany, and presumably other countries, refused him an entry permit, must have generated some diplomatic correspondence; if so, this volume is not the place to look for it as the episode is ignored entirely.

The editorial remarks in the foreword and the "analytical" supplement may be fruitfully ignored, save for the statistics. The annotation, however, is quite useful and serves to clarify where needed.

Duke University WARREN LERNER

Near East

OMAN SINCE 1856: DISRUPTIVE MODERNIZATION IN A TRADITIONAL ARAB SOCIETY. By *Robert Geran Landen.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 488. $12.50.)

PROFESSOR Landen in a thorough, scholarly, well-documented, and interesting volume opens the story of Oman and the problems of the Persian Gulf with a fine review of their medieval and early modern developments. He rightly attacks those who assert that there were no change and little history during those years by demonstrating that the shifting tides of Ottoman, Iranian, Portuguese, French, and British maritime power involved inexorably the local rulers and their regimes. After he sets the stage, the author describes the social, economic, and political forces in the area during the nineteenth century and illustrates and analyzes the poignant effects of the steamboat, the inexpensive products of European machines, the suppression of the slave trade to placate British and European liberals, and the curtailment of the illicit French arms traffic to Afghanistan in order to ease the pacification of the Indian frontiers.

Early in the nineteenth century maritime disorder in the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman, resulting from rivalries among Iranians and the sultans and

sheiks along the Arab coast from Kuwait to Oman, turned the entire area into a dangerous "war zone." British and other foreign ships entering the gulf were frequently seized. Their captains, of course, not appreciating the fact that they were in a "war zone," regarded such acts as piracy. Fearing that the pirates would be encouraged to interfere with the Indian trade, Britain acted with force and skillful diplomacy to control the coastal regions, capping its actions in 1853 by inducing the sheiks to sign a Perpetual Maritime Truce. Since Kuwait and Oman did not sign, the area in between came to be designated as the Trucial Coast. British sea power ruled the two gulfs thereafter, keeping the Russians and the Germans out of Kuwait by special treaty with the sheik in 1899 and forcing the Sultan of Oman to cancel a favorable concession to the French the same year. Apparently the British believed it necessary to police and control the region as part of the defense ring around India.

Part III, "The Consolidation of British Political Paramountcy in Oman and the Persian Gulf," reads like any episode in European diplomacy and imperialism. In the period 1862–1903 British rule had its ups and downs, especially when Calcutta was in control and the whole area was an Indian dependency. In the end, however, Landen clearly shows that imperial success was largely due to the skill and persistence of civil administrators like Bartle Frere, Lewis Pelly, Edward Ross, Major Percy Cox, and Lord Curzon, and that failure was always imminent under such heavy-handed agents as Major Fagan.

For students of the development of new states the final three chapters have special meaning for the quarrels between conservative-reactionary forces and moderate-liberals, stemming from the intrusion of an outside society, are shown to have involved religion, political structures, taxation and finance, trade, and every facet of human existence. Certainly a new era will quickly emerge if the British withdraw by 1971.

Ohio State University SYDNEY NETTLETON FISHER

THE DAY OF MAYSALŪN: A PAGE FROM THE MODERN HISTORY OF THE ARABS. With an introduction relating the struggle of the powers for the Arab lands and an appendix of documents. By *Abū Khaldūn Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī*. Translated from the Arabic by *Sidney Glazer*. (Washington, D. C.: Middle East Institute. 1966. Pp. 187. Cloth $4.25, paper $2.75.)

SĀTIʿ al-Ḥuṣrī, who spans the ravine between the Ottoman bureaucracy and the "June War," is an important figure in the Arab "renaissance." His contributions are threefold: as an important member of the short-lived Syrian government that yielded to the French in 1920; as the coherent ideologue of old-fashioned, liberal, language-based Arab nationalism; and as the fashioner of Iraq's educational system. In later life, whether directing the Arab League's Institute for Advanced Arab Studies in Cairo or summering in Lebanon, he continues to personify the potential of the Arab one world he advocates.

This translation of a work that appeared in Arabic in 1947 is a worthwhile addition to the English library of modern Arab history, for it constitutes an important source on the collapse of the Syrian government before invading French troops at Khān Maysalūn in 1920. The present translation, originally pre-

pared for the Near Eastern Translation Program of the American Council of Learned Societies, has regrettably lain fallow for fifteen years following collapse of the publication phase of that program. The Middle East Institute deserves congratulations for finally publishing it.

The work is bare. Although the author has written a preface for the English version, there is no translator's introduction nor any *apparatus criticus*. It would have gained from some. Note, for instance, the references to "Professor Bonfanti"; the reader will never learn that these allude to Pietro Bonfante (who died about 1935), distinguished professor of Roman law at the University of Rome and vice-president of the *Accademia dei Lincei*. The translation proper is for the most part workmanlike, but there are caveats. Page forty-seven (pp. 75–76 of the Arabic), for example, fails to observe the author's subdividing; omits one phrase; makes a simplifying (?) but modifying substitution of "in the western zone" for "in the area she had occupied in this way"; and contains one misprint. Again, on page eighty-five (p. 160 of the original), paragraph four omits one sentence and one clause, and a one-sentence paragraph is omitted immediately thereafter. Finally, one notes that the photographs and facsimiles of the original are not included.

New York University R. Bayly Winder

Africa

RECONSTRUCTING AFRICAN CULTURE HISTORY. Edited by *Creighton Gabel* and *Norman R. Bennett*. (Boston: Boston University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 246. $7.00.)

This book consists of ten papers, nine of which were originally prepared for a symposium held at Northwestern University in 1962. Since the papers were circulated in advance, it is difficult to understand why the published account should have taken five years to appear. Since most of the papers are concerned with theoretical approaches to the reconstruction of African culture history from different disciplinary bases rather than with attempts to assess results, the book has not suffered from the delay, although the first paper, by Desmond Clark, on early agriculture and metallurgy from archaeological sources, could now support some of its inferences with more recently established facts. In particular, though we still have insufficient radiocarbon dates from Africa as a whole, there has been a striking increase over the last three years in the numbers available, especially from West Africa. The second paper, by Herbert Lewis, on ethnology, is especially important, for this study has been badly neglected in Africa for several decades, and as a result inadequately supported theories of diffusion loom far too large in current historical interpretations. This chapter should be required reading for all historians of Africa. In a similar vein, Roger Wescott warns against the "implicit identification of language with race or culture" and goes on to discuss linguistic evidence of culture contact. Jan Vansina contributes an excellent essay in which he assesses the fields in which oral tradition may be considered useful and where it is unlikely to contribute. Alan Merriam writes a

valuable critical survey of attempts to use music as historical evidence and suggests as a research tool a method of comparison between musical styles that can be expressed in numerical terms. Roy Seiber discusses the contribution of African art and shows the importance of the data obtained by archaeology.

A series of more technical papers follows. Frank B. Livingstone discusses the origin of the sickle-cell gene; Edgar Anderson writes on botanical evidence, especially of cultivated plants, while Jack Harlan describes the biosystematic study of cultivated plants, a paper that brings out strongly the interrelationship of man and his crops. Marvin P. Miracle criticizes Murdock's maps of the distribution of staple crops, which do not claim to be a historical study, but he goes on to describe changes in diet in Ruanda-Urundi and in Uganda during the last hundred years or less. A final coda is supplied by Creighton Gabel, summarizing the discussions of the symposium and concluding that "no single culture-historical question . . . can be fully answered solely within the perimeters of one disciplinary approach."

Northwestern University FRANK WILLETT

DIE FRANZÖSISCHE ALGERIENPOLITIK VON 1919–1939. By *Wolfgang Ohneck*. [Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Überseegeschichte, Number 2.] (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag. 1967. Pp. 195. DM 22.)

THIS detailed, technical history of administrative reform in Algeria during the interwar period thoroughly examines French and Algerian attitudes from the time of the law of 1919 sponsored by Clemenceau through the abortive Blum-Viollette reforms of the mid-1930's. Ohneck shows that the French policy of assimilation was ineffective even before World War I. Although government in the nineteenth century had vacillated between civil and military control, neither agency had seriously attempted assimilation of the Muslim majority. What was most important, however, was the introduction in the late nineteenth century of increasing numbers of European *colons* into Algeria and their control of the economic resources, which created an environment hostile to assimilation. Allegiance to Islam, the theoretical block to granting citizenship to an Algerian subject, was less important than the *colons'* drive to maintain economic and political control. The Clemenceau reforms extended French citizenship as a reward to only a few of the thousands of Algerians who had served France in the war. Even this palliative measure was fiercely resented by the spokesmen of *colon* interests.

In the interwar years many Algerian nationalist movements such as the *Ulema* led by Ben Badis and the *Étoile* of Messali Hadj also opposed assimilation. Any effective program aimed at equalizing native Algerian and *colon* rights would have blocked their separatist goals. Only the Algerian middle class was in favor of assimilation. The Paris government, urged on by concerned politicians, confronted the failure of associating significant numbers of Algerians with France and introduced in 1936 the Blum-Viollette reforms to the Chamber. These would have given 21,000 Muslims full French citizenship without forcing them to abandon their Muslim civil status. In future years the numbers thus to receive citizenship were to be increased. Reflecting *colon* hostility, 298 mayors in Algeria

threatened to suspend local government, and the Senate voted down the bill in 1938. The rejection further expedited the estrangement of the Algerian intellectuals from France.

The book's organization is at first confusing and detracts from its effect; the author tends to introduce material that, while pertinent, seems out of place. For example, the discussion of the imperialist philosophers Girault, Harmand, and Vignon is important, but this segment should have been placed before the section on French reforms through 1919. Such criticisms are minor and do not affect the study's value in highlighting the Algerian issues before World War II.

San Jose State College HARRY A. GAILEY

MAURITANIA. By *Alfred G. Gerteiny*. [Praeger Library of African Affairs.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. x, 243. $6.00.)

GERTEINY's book is the first survey of Mauritania to be published anywhere. It contains much useful information on geography, peoples, Moorish society and culture, political evolution in the past two decades, economic and industrial development since independence (1961), and relations with other African states (including the dispute with Morocco). These sections demonstrate the use of published materials in French as well as the author's researches in Mauritania in 1963–1964, where he enjoyed the cooperation of the government of President Moktar Ould Daddah. In presenting his data in a generally readable fashion, Gerteiny has performed a real service to the student of contemporary African affairs.

It is the student of Mauritania's history who is less well served by this book. Gerteiny presents comprehensive chapters only for those periods which French scholars have already carefully researched. Thus there is an excellent summary of the origins and development of Moorish society. There are good accounts of early European contacts, French penetration in the nineteenth century and conquest in the twentieth. But one learns almost nothing about the period 1912–1946, for which Gerteiny gives but a few paragraphs.

For the period 1946–1961 the author discusses only the political evolution, treating it within a narrowly territorial context that largely neglects the influences arising from Mauritania's inclusion in the Fourth French Republic and the federation of French West Africa. Gerteiny's bibliography omits the French literature on these subjects and the important works on the federation by the Adloffs (1957) and Schachter-Morgenthau (1964). His unfamiliarity with these aspects of Mauritania's political evolution is also revealed by his errors. For example, the statement that after the Second World War, "Mauritanians and other Federation nationals were French subjects" shows Gerteiny's ignorance concerning the reforms of 1946 that made all Africans within the federation citizens of the French Republic. Equally revealing but less serious are errors that call the leader of the *Union Démocratique et Sociale de la Résistance* "Charles" Mitterand and the *Union Africaine et Malgache* a body of "twelve French Community states."

Thus the history of Mauritania has still largely to be written. One may hope that Gerteiny, with his considerable knowledge of that country and his training in Arabic, will apply himself to this task.

Marquette University DAVID E. GARDINIER

REVOLT IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA, 1896–97: A STUDY IN AFRICAN RESISTANCE. By *T. O. Ranger.* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 403. $12.50.)

Professor Ranger, in his much-awaited book, presents one of the most intelligent analyses yet produced on African responses to European interruption and overlordship. He stresses and amply demonstrates that the primary resistance of the Ndebele and Shona to white economic, military, and administrative policies must be viewed as part of a "stream of development beginning before and running through the colonial period." His framework allows him to show the continuity and strength of religious- and leadership-centered institutions within societies that were viewed by the European as too divided and too prostrate from earlier fighting to resist colonization and European rule. Both the initial success of the rebellions and their long-term significance were due to the mass commitment of peoples, institutions, and ideas. This commitment was produced by a traditional charismatic leadership working within two societies whose cultural bases emphasized political centralization and historical identities. It is the scale of the uprisings that Ranger sees and explains so well that distinguishes these revolts and gives them especial importance in Rhodesian and African history. Although he keeps his subject within an African context, his concluding chapter on the relationship of the risings to other protest movements in Africa and to the development of African nationalism in Rhodesia may well provide a structure in which to assess the initial attempts of other societies to resist European contact and control. Indeed, in providing an engrossing and meaningful study of the nature of the Shona and Ndebele fight against the rule of the British South Africa Company, Ranger develops an abundance of ideas that could be applied elsewhere.

As impressive as the author's presentation are the type and quality of source materials on which this study is based. The core of the work is developed from manuscript sources housed in the National Archives, Salisbury. In addition to interpreting this material to gain insight into African society and the character of the revolts, Ranger adds to the portrait of Rhodes and the company. Some oral evidence was collected; this strengthens the author's findings from his written sources. His consultation with other African scholars and his careful use of secondary literature are evident throughout; in presenting an original study he has synthesized much that has been written about Shona and Ndebele life in recent times.

Mount Holyoke College Leslie Clement Duly

EUROPEAN POWERS AND SOUTH-EAST AFRICA: A STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ON THE SOUTH-EAST COAST OF AFRICA, 1796–1856. By *Mabel V. Jackson Haight.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. xv, 368. $9.50.)

The first edition of this book (1942) belonged clearly to the school of strategic-diplomatic history. Southeastern Africa was then neglected by historians of international affairs, and the use of Portuguese as well as British archives represented a step forward. In the intervening quarter century Mabel Jackson Haight

has added a few files to her list of primary sources and made an effort with uneven success to keep up with new secondary works. The neglect of French archives is regrettable.

This book, packed with facts, introduces the rich complex of Western and Eastern commercial interest, but seems to have no prominent thesis to guide its internal development. Perhaps the author, a South African, regarded the history of Mozambique prior to 1856 in the same way that an American historian might look at Mexican history before frontiers were defined. Many attitudes toward missionaries, "the Bantu," and British motives reflect South African historiography. Haight might now wish to escape from her South African premises, as is suggested by her appreciation of the work of E. A. Alpers, who uses Portuguese sources to illuminate the same region in an earlier period. Yet the new brand of African and Indian Ocean history does not marry well with the old preoccupation with official policy.

The history of Portuguese East Africa and the coast northward toward Zanzibar is indeed fascinating. Arabs and "Banian" Indians persisted as traders and creditors despite Portuguese attempts after the fifteenth century to establish monopolies. By the late eighteenth century, the real powerlessness of the Portuguese governors to prohibit illicit trade was partly acknowledged in arrangements to permit Frenchmen to export slaves to the island plantations at Mauritius. No sooner were the Portuguese officials allowed to legalize this trade than the British, now in control at the Cape, began taking a closer interest in the East Coast and placed metropolitan authorities under pressure to abolish the slave trade. The central triangle of French, Portuguese, and British relations ought to be the major theme of the book. But in addition, we have Americans, Arabs unclearly distinguished between Muscat and Zanzibar, Indians sailing under a variety of flags, "prazeros" or Africanized Portuguese landlords fighting it out in the interior, and finally the Boer factor, all ill-assimilated into the central narrative.

This new edition is timely, however, for Indian Ocean and Mozambique history is coming into well-deserved prominence, and Haight provides clues to a range of subjects that will bear monographic treatment.

Columbia University Marcia Wright

THE CAPE PARLIAMENT, 1854–1910. By *J. L. McCracken*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. 156. $4.50.)

Professor McCracken has organized his work topically rather than chronologically—establishment and growth, elections, members, Parliament and the non-Europeans, the Europeans and the franchise, parties, Parliament, and federation. Much material has been collected, analyzed, and presented in tabular form. The chapter on members, in particular, has interesting implications: it shows how the proportion of Afrikaans-speaking members increased suddenly in the eighties with the rise of national consciousness and the related development of constituency and party organization. In a colony of large area and dispersed population it was difficult to persuade leading men, particularly Englishmen, to stand for Parliament, especially after the mineral discoveries. Furthermore, carpetbaggers were rare. Both factors probably played a part in delaying the appearance of organizations based on English-speaking groups.

The author has, unfortunately, limited his treatment of the subject by length of text, emphasis, and choice of sources. The topics chosen could hardly be dealt with adequately except in a book at least twice as long. Secondly, this study falls between a monograph on a legislature and a study of an institution in a certain political context. If it were to be the latter, there should have been greater attention to such issues as urban and rural representation, important both in the nineties and in the drafting of the South Africa Bill in 1908 and 1909. If it were to be strictly a history of a chamber, there should have been some discussion of such topics as the speakership, the development of procedure, and the cabinet. Finally the author, without explanation, has limited himself to manuscript sources in Johannesburg and England, thereby omitting material in the magnificent collections in Cape Town.

McCracken completes his work on the nostalgic note frequently used by those who regard the Cape Parliament as a magnificent achievement, part of a fine liberal tradition before the dreary retreat to discrimination in the twentieth century. The achievement was undoubtedly great: the Cape Parliament conducted its proceedings with dignity and efficiency, contrasting favorably with at least one other colonial legislature, that of New Zealand. But the author does not deal sufficiently with one of the major questions, the origin and nature of Cape liberalism, and its partial erosion before the discussion of a new constitution after 1907. A closer study of the conduct of members in the Assembly might show us the social origins of the pressures to restrict the franchise, and the divisions, among Afrikaans-, as well as among English-speaking members, both on questions of native policy and on language rights and electoral distribution. Greater attention to the effect on Parliament of the rise in the proportion of Afrikaans-speaking members and to the debate on the Parliamentary Voters Registration Bill of 1887 might also reveal what was happening before the polarizing series of events that began with the Jameson Raid.

Within the regrettably narrow limits he has set himself, the author has written clearly and informatively, although the topical treatment has led him to some repetition and to allusions that those unfamiliar with South African history will find difficult to understand. Could McCracken not now give himself more room to move in and answer at length some of the questions his work raises?

Wesleyan University JEFFREY BUTLER

Asia and the East

LAW IN IMPERIAL CHINA: EXEMPLIFIED BY 190 CH'ING DYNASTY CASES. (Translated from the *Hsing-an hui-lan.*) With historical, social, and juridical commentaries by *Derk Bodde* and *Clarence Morris.* [Harvard Studies in East Asian Law, Number 1.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 615. $17.50.)

WE fortunately now have in English a competent study of Chinese legal history to the end of the last dynasty. The work began as a seminar at the University of

Pennsylvania, conducted by Professor Bodde of the Chinese department and Professor Morris of the department of law. In 1938 Bodde produced a book on Li Ssu, a legalist of the third century B.C. Now he and Morris have annotated 190 actual law cases of the Ch'ing period taken from a much larger compilation covering the years 1736–1885. Bodde brought to bear his competence in the written language and in the difficult nomenclature of the law. Morris adapted the concepts, where necessary, to Western legal thinking. The cases here translated are specimens only of a vast legal literature whose earliest code goes back to the third century B.C.

Prior to the twentieth century Chinese written law developed independently of the West and had, moreover, the characteristic of being overwhelmingly penal in emphasis. The local magistrate, together with his legal secretary, tried cases in the first instance, though public opinion, molded by local Confucian scholars, had a place. The system allowed for no private lawyers, and death sentences were normally referred to the judiciary board in Peking. The translated cases, though restricted in scope, present much information on Chinese society: family relationships, the view of the universe, the all-powerful ethical norms. Violations were not regarded as personal only, but as infractions of the cosmic order. It goes without saying that the emphasis was on obligations more than on rights.

"In some respects," says Bodde, "the law of Imperial China was more humane and intelligent than its Western counterpart." According to the dominant view of life, ordinary disputes should be settled out of court, in the broad domain of manners or li. For settling such conflicts, li had the advantage of being preventive rather than punitive. The common man, and even illiterates, learned its ramifications from observation, conversation, proverbs, and plays and invoked it effectively in hours of extremity. Li allowed for differences of application, according to age, education, usage, and status in society. Perhaps no writer in the West has expounded the range of this great social imperative better than John Fletcher Moulton, a former Lord Chief Justice of England, in a memorable essay, "Law and Manners" (*Atlantic,* CXXXIV [July 1924]). When li with all its persuasive powers failed, punishment was swift and radical, as some English observers noted a century ago in a period of political upheaval.

Washington, D. C. ARTHUR W. HUMMEL

APPROACHES TO MODERN CHINESE HISTORY. Edited by *Albert Feuerwerker et al.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. 356. $7.50.)

IN this *Festschrift* honoring the sixtieth birthday of their former mentor, Professor John K. Fairbank, twelve scholars have written research studies or essays on aspects of late Ch'ing and transitionally modern Chinese history. There are four motifs: five pieces relate to internal political-institutional history, three to the texture of intellectual life, two to facets of the traditional and modernizing economy, and two to foreign relations.

Another pattern of grouping—the one that was editorially decisive—began with two studies on topics pertaining to the Ch'ing period (the education of the Ch'ien Lung Emperor and institutional aspects of premodern mining); followed

by four pieces on aspects of Chinese modernization in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Li Hung-chang's policies and activities in Chihli Province, 1870–1875, Manchu China's failure to coordinate effectively naval squadrons and their administration during the late 1870's and 1880's, attitudes held and reforms advocated by a Western-influenced Chinese journalist at approximately the same time, and an essay on Japanese views of conditions in China and Korea during the Meiji era); then four interpretations of early twentieth-century nationalist and reformist groups and leaders and their ideas and attitudes (themes from Chinese nationalist student journalism in Japan especially during 1903–1908, the emergence of public opinion in China during 1901–1908, the reformist ideas and dual plots of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, and an experimental essay interpreting the transition from Confucian thought, values, and institutions to those of nationalism); and a dual coda composed of Professor John Israel's history of Kuomintang policies and student politics, 1927–1937, and Professor Feuerwerker's rather factual history of a major and successful cement company that had a continuous record from 1906 to 1908 into the Communist period.

In my opinion the most brilliant and stimulating study in this medley is Professor Marius Jansen's on "Japanese Views of China during the Meiji Period." It interprets an earlier development of a problem that increasingly plagues international relations in our time: the growing gap between societies responding disparately to the tasks and opportunities of modernization.

The only rather disappointing essay in this collection is "The Province, the Nation, and the World: The Problem of Chinese Identity."

Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy ALLAN B. COLE

ENEMIES AND FRIENDS: THE UNITED FRONT IN CHINESE COMMUNIST HISTORY. By *Lyman P. Van Slyke*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 330. $8.50.)

THAT ancient rule of power politics, to win over allies and isolate enemies, bulks large in Chinese tradition. In the form of the united front under Mao, it has "grown from tactic to strategy to ideology" until today the self-image of the Chinese Communist party (CCP) as leader of people and nation is intertwined with its achievements through the united front. The clarity and sophistication of Professor Van Slyke's study testify both to his own capacities and to the notable growth of American research on CCP history. He passes quickly over the early era: from 1923 CCP members entered the Kuomintang as individuals to form a "bloc within"; after the disastrous split of 1927, they eventually sought a "united front from below," discussed in China as early as November 1930, but the resulting putschism failed. The CCP was saved by Japan's aggression. Van Slyke traces the complex gestation of the united front policy both at the European and Comintern ends from early 1934 and at the Chinese end during the Long March. After the Seventh Comintern Congress of July–August 1935, the CCP really began to apply the new policy only at the end of the year. Mao made his own independent decision for it in response to Chinese conditions. It was "not a doctrine simply in obedience to Stalin's orders." A masterly chapter on the Sian incident of December 1936 analyzes the difficulties inhibiting the young marshal, Chang

Hsueh-liang, and the CCP. The latter "worked for Chiang's release" both to avoid civil war and to prevent "the possibility of a Nanking-Japanese coalition against the CCP."

During the war years, the united front was combined with armed struggle and party building. The united front sought allies and defined and isolated enemies. Armed struggle sought to destroy them. Party building, including the party reform or *cheng-feng* movement, kept the party healthily disciplined, for "the CCP wanted to take no chances of ending like the Manchus, submerged in what they were supposed to lead." Under the United Front Work Departments of CCP-dominated local regimes, nonparty cadres were trained and used. United front cadres of the CCP were, meanwhile, infiltrated to work as "liberals" in KMT areas, and others were set to infiltrating and winning over "friendly armies." This covert growth of a "united front from below" was combined with the overt collaboration of the CCP with central government and provincial authorities in a "united front from above." The gradual Communist take-over of Shansi serves as a case study. Another masterly chapter, on the postwar negotiations and civil war, indicates how the liberal-oriented Democratic League became the chief focus of united front strategy, which then carried over into the polity constructed after 1949.

Though Van Slyke does not go into it, the CCP's united front strategy succeeded within the distinctively Chinese political culture, where legitimation is through personal devotion to a moral orthodoxy, since law is not supreme; recruits are from the great middle group, since man is perfectible and can be taught; and their political organization is in large part by conspiracy, since power holders cannot tolerate genuine opposition. The present volume points the way toward this broader kind of study.

Harvard University J. K. Fairbank

LITERARY DISSENT IN COMMUNIST CHINA. By *Merle Goldman*. [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 29.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 343. $7.95.)

In tracing the development of literary dissent in mainland China during the 1940's and 1950's, Merle Goldman concentrates, throughout her book, on the conflict between the Communist literary bureaucrats and the so-called revolutionary writers. To prepare the reader for a better understanding of her main theme, she at first provides a chapter of relevant background information about the ideological and factional aspects of the conflict. Then she depicts in a lucid and forceful style the successive scenes of this historical drama of conflict, ranging from Mao Tse-tung's "Talks on Art and Literature," through the subsequent thought-remolding campaigns along with intervals of relaxation, to the Great Leap Forward in literature. And finally she gives a penetrating and unbiased evaluation of the significance of literary opposition in the light of both the past ideological reform drives and the current cultural revolution. Guided by the author's main emphasis or focal point, the reader is in no danger of getting lost in a host of extremely complicated historical episodes and situations.

The fact that Goldman limits her discussions mainly to the ideological and

factional clash between the literary bureaucrats and a handful of nonconforming writers is no doubt a great strength of her book, but at the same time it is also a weakness. Her definition of the term "revolutionary writers" seems broad enough to encompass both Communist and non-Communist writers who have rebelled against the party's, or rather Mao Tse-tung's, orthodox views on literature. In the final analysis, what the reader actually sees is not too much more than a seesaw battle of words between the authoritarian Chou Yang group and the late Lu Hsün's close associates and followers: Feng Hsüeh-feng, Hu Feng, Ting Ling, and Hsiao Chün. With the exception of Ai-ch'ing, Wang Shih-wei, Lo Feng, and Ho Ch'i-fang, particularly the last one to whose differing views on poetry a whole chapter is devoted, other Communist dissenters are either mentioned in passing or not given as much attention as they deserve. The non-Communist dissenters, except for Yü P'ing-po and a few others, are not given a hearing at all. As a consequence, the reader does not obtain quite the total picture of literary opposition in Communist China.

The Chinese sources pertaining to the literary bureaucrats and rebellious writers are indeed numerous, as can be seen in the bibliography of this book. It is clear that the author has well digested them, judging by her statements and conclusions based on these materials. Writings in Western languages are missing in this bibliography; scanty as they are, they should also be listed for the benefit of the reader.

Despite its limitations, this book has made a significant contribution to the intellectual and literary history of Communist China and will no doubt be valued by scholars for many years to come. After having read this scholarly work, I cannot but express the hope that the author will soon undertake her next project: a study of "the dramatic happenings of the sixties."

Yale University TIEN-YI LI

IMPERIAL JAPAN'S HIGHER CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS. By *Robert M. Spaulding, Jr.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 416. $10.00.)

MANY of the newer nations are struggling to establish viable governmental structures that are appropriate to the modern age. Historical experience to date suggests that there are several routes to political modernization—military oligarchies, personal despotisms, mobilization systems based on mass parties, and so forth—but we can be reasonably certain that whatever the route chosen, unless these countries are able to train and recruit competent and honest administrators, political stability is not likely to result. This is because the bureaucracy forms the core of modern government.

Students of modernization are increasingly turning to the Japanese historical experience for new insights. Somehow the Japanese managed to enter the modern world without being torn apart in the process, and one of the reasons was that Japan was able to create a competent bureaucracy that guided the nation along new paths. *Imperial Japan's Higher Civil Service Examinations* is a careful and detailed treatment of one important aspect of the building of the bureaucracy. The author traces step by step the decision to employ an examination system in

the latter part of the nineteenth century, weighs the influence of the German model, tells us who the examiners were and what the examinations were about, and considers the effects of the system on the recruitment of talent. The book is a product of careful scholarship and is likely to remain the standard work on the subject for a long time to come.

Because of space limitations only the most important of his findings will be discussed here. First, the examinations for the higher civil service posts became closely linked with higher education. The curriculum of the faculty of law of Tokyo Imperial University, the most important single road to the civil service, stressed those subjects which were useful for passing the examinations, and the examinations in turn were affected by the curriculum. The net effect was to give much weight to a rather narrow legal training. How could such a system adapt itself to social and technological change? Mr. Spaulding believes that the answer is to be found in the existence of alternative avenues of recruitment whereby technical specialists—engineers, statisticians, agronomists, public health officials, and so on—were brought in through "screening" and "free appointment"; he states that "without these alternative systems the concept of an inner elite trained in law would quickly have become untenable."

Second, the rate of failure in the examinations was high, running over 80 per cent. Only a few made it, and presumably they were the most talented and best trained because the author found few examples of fraud. Spaulding concludes that "it can hardly be doubted that the examination-centered bureaucracy of Imperial Japan comprised an effective government. The fact that it fell short of optimum efficiency in structure, in procedure, or in use of manpower did not prevent its being the equal of any contemporary government in the ability to make decisions and carry them out."

Stanford University NOBUTAKA IKE

THE JAPANESE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, 1920–1966. By *Robert A. Scalapino*. [Publications of the Center for Japanese and Korean Studies.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 412. $6.50.)

HISTORIANS interested in modern Japan and political scientists concerned with comparative politics recently have been supplied a rich and thorough documentation on what has been called Japan's "Left Cultural Front." George Totten's study of prewar Socialism (*The Social Democratic Movement in Prewar Japan* [1966]), a collaborative work on postwar Socialism (Cole *et al., Socialist Parties in Postwar Japan* [1966]), and Professor Scalapino's analysis of Japanese Communism have appeared almost in succession.

All of these studies, but most explicitly the last, attempt to come to grips with an interesting paradox. Japan has nurtured one of the strongest Socialist movements and one of the first Communist parties to be established in Asia. Already by 1920 the Japanese had achieved mass literacy; thus a people with a homogeneous culture, a modern political framework, and high political consciousness acquired the means to articulate its views. Industrialization supplied millions of new workers, the classic proletariat for the party. Furthermore, Marxism provided a new faith, combining "truth" and "science," and has appealed strongly to

Japanese intellectuals. And Marxism still serves as a sharp weapon of social criticism in Japan. Finally, the Japanese peasant was less backward than in most Asian countries. Despite these seeming advantages, Communism has not flourished in Japan.

Scalapino analyzes the reasons for the inability of the Japanese Communist party (JCP) to attract and hold a mass following. On the origins of the JCP, prior to 1945, he marshals the overwhelming evidence that the party was at first a creature of the Comintern and hence of the Soviet Union. Ever since, it has faced the necessity of adjusting overseas and domestic needs. The Communists (like the Socialists, studied in the parallel volumes mentioned above) have, moreover, been victims of the Japanese political penchant for factionalism, of fragmentation arising from "small-group" organization, and even of traditional Japanese leader-follower characteristics. Added to these disadvantages was the fact that prewar Communism was always harried by the forces of nationalism; the party had to operate as an illegal, underground organization.

The major portion of this study, however, deals with the even greater opportunities offered by the years since 1945. Emerging as an open part of post-surrender political life, the JCP was at first successful in "making communism lovable" (Chapter II). Such gains were blown apart by direct Soviet intervention and criticism. A sharp shift to the Left (Chapter III) coincided precisely with that great expansion of the Japanese economy and appearance of an affluent society, which seemed to render dogmas of "class struggle" meaningless. There has been unrest in contemporary Japan, of course, but dissent has flowed through other channels of Socialist-led opposition. A return to legalism and attempts to create a united front on the Left (Chapter IV) have been hindered by a tactical dilemma: on the one hand, the JCP has been committed to a united front; on the other, it has never been able to resist vicious assaults on the very elements with which it was supposed to cooperate.

In his summing up of its current status (Chapter VII) and in a perceptive survey of prospects and problems (Chapter VIII), Scalapino touches on two recent, significant developments. ". . . Japanese society has changed at an incredible rate, posing a vast array of new opportunities and problems, neither of which can be met by simplistic, antiquated formulae." Tempestuous storms within the international Communist system have buffeted the JCP first toward "neutralism," then toward Peking, and finally toward "autonomy and independence."

Rutgers University ARDATH W. BURKS

KOREA IN WORLD POLITICS, 1940–1950: AN EVALUATION OF AMERICAN RESPONSIBILITY. By *Soon Sung Cho.* [Published under the auspices of the Center for Japanese and Korean Studies, University of California, Berkeley.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. x, 338. $7.00.)

SINCE the publication of George M. McCune's study, *Korea Today,* in 1950 (see *AHR,* LVI [Jan. 1951], 355), there have appeared many books and articles on the Korean War and its aftermath, many of them polemical, but not since McCune has there been a serious attempt at a dispassionate analysis of the conditions

antecedent to the war. In *Korea in World Politics, 1940–1950,* Professor Cho, of International Christian University (Tokyo) and the University of Washington, goes into all the matters treated by McCune in greater depth, with fuller documentation, and with the benefit of seventeen years of hindsight. Writing "as a Korean," he admits that "it is too much to hope that I have achieved complete objectivity," but it is clear that he has not only tried hard, but succeeded admirably in minimizing the intensity of emotional feeling that the tragedies of modern Korean history naturally produce.

His general conclusion is that American policy, though well intentioned, blundered at a number of crucial points to make matters worse for Korea. Some of the evidence he adduces is the following: FDR had an exaggerated idea of the length of time needed to educate Korea for self-government, thirty or forty years, and while generating the trusteeship idea generally at Cairo and Yalta he never formulated it precisely; instead military considerations prevailed, and the US War Department invented the thirty-eighth parallel division, unnecessarily, Cho feels, because the Russians had not demanded it. Then General Hodge and his men went into Korea, with no clear instructions, and missed the opportunity to play a constructive role in the creation of an all-Korea government. This, Cho says, might have been possible if Hodge had supported the Korean Provisional Government as a coalition partner with Lyuh's People's Republic, a novel and interesting idea. It is based on the assumption that Russia had already accepted the latter, for which good but not conclusive evidence is given.

After the Moscow Conference Cho finds little hope for a united Korea, but he argues that the United States could and should have done much more than it did to strengthen South Korea and that it was "highly questionable that the transfer of the Korean issue at this time [September 1947] to the United Nations was especially apt," since it was like "giving the United Nations a hot potato . . . which the United States was unwilling to carry."

Cho's presentation is measured, precise, and persuasive, but it seems to me that he may be somewhat overindulgent of Syngman Rhee and the forces he led. Certainly their intransigence at almost every critical juncture, the Lyuh negotiations, the trusteeship discussions, and the efforts of Kimm Kiu-sic and Kim Koo to keep lines of communication to North Korea open made the potato hotter than it otherwise might have been. Also Americans who have seen the results of not bringing the Vietnam problem to the UN may question the conclusion that it was unwise to do so in the Korean case. These are, of course, debatable matters, and until Soviet documentation becomes available there can be no certainty as to what would or would not have produced happier results. Meanwhile Cho deserves congratulations for a careful and valuable study.

University of Pennsylvania HILARY CONROY

SIR ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM AND THE BEGINNING OF INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY. By *Abu Imam.* [Asiatic Society of Pakistan Publication Number 19.] (Dacca: the Society. 1966. Pp. xiii, 276. $6.00.)

THE story of the men who pioneered the study of ancient Indian civilization is sometimes as dramatic and remarkable as the civilization itself. It is frequently

not realized that about one hundred years ago we knew incredibly little about ancient India. It was not until the late 1800's, for example, that Indologists began to understand how great an impact Buddhism had in ancient India. Before that time even reputable scholars had identified Buddha with Woden or believed the Buddhists to be followers of Jina, unsure of whether Buddha was an Egyptian or an Ethiopian. Struggling against the obstacles of pitifully inadequate funds, the widespread conviction that "Asiaticks are born to be slaves," uncertainties as to the location of many great ancient cities of India, undeciphered scripts, a rudimentary knowledge of archaeological techniques, numerous health hazards, and a host of other problems, a handful of dedicated scholars gave us much of what we know today.

This volume describes and analyzes some of those discoveries and the toil and brilliance and luck that made them possible. Cunningham occupies the central position, as he should, although the work of many other scholars is also discussed. This study is a first-rate piece of scholarship, well documented and organized. Weaknesses appear from time to time where Dr. Imam lapses into a rather dry cataloguing of some of Cunningham's expeditions. But the flavor of the book as a whole is one of excitement and discovery as new and important historical data are literally unearthed. Photographs and especially maps would have much enhanced the value of this work.

Sometimes the unsung heroes are not the petty government officials whose names we just miss but the historians and other scholars who uncover or rediscover the past so that all who wish may add that heritage to their own present, thus expanding into new horizons. The scholar whose work is not a job or a career but a dedication sometimes bordering on madness is, I trust, with us still, and it is well that we pause from time to time to pay our respects and draw inspiration from him. Sir Alexander Cunningham and the work he did in the field of Indology were worthy of that pause. For his critical and excellent survey, of which a review of this length is inadequate, Imam has our gratitude.

University of Windsor JOHN W. SPELLMAN

REVENUE SYSTEM IN POST-MAURYA AND GUPTA TIMES. By *Dwijendra Narayan Jha.* (Calcutta: Punthi Pustak. 1967. Pp. xv, 234. Rs. 25.)

SINCE 1929 when U. N. Ghoshal published his work on the Hindu revenue system, over thirty books dealing primarily or in part with aspects of the economic history of ancient India have appeared. In the past three years alone four different titles dealing with the general area have been published; Mr. Jha's is the latest addition to the literature on the subject.

The work covers an eight-hundred-year period. The topics discussed are land-rights and taxes, commercial levies, income from state monopolies, forced labor, fines and tributes, and the structure and functions of the taxgathering bureaucracy. The author's general conclusion that there was a considerable hiatus between the theoretical injunctions and actual incidence of taxation is unexceptionable.

The author, for the most part, plows through much-furrowed soil. He interprets his literary, epigraphic, and numismatic material in a competent manner for most of the period. There is limit, however, to what new or fresh material may be

squeezed out of the tendentious sentiments of the *smritikāras,* involved inscriptions, laconic coins, and ambiguous statements of Chinese travelers worked almost to exhaustion by three generations of Indologists. Still, something meaningful in depth and new in perception may be achieved if the right questions are asked and a well-defined and narrow segment of time is selected for analysis. It is here that the work seems blasé. The author's examination of his literary sources is too cursory to inspire much confidence. The *Arthasastra* is used profusely throughout the work though there is scarcely any discussion on its chronology. The *Jatakas* are dogmatically accepted as a product of the post-Maurya times with a postscript that the political events mentioned by them may be pre-Maurya. He does not let us know how he proposes the precise chronological separation of the contents of the verse and prose parts of the *Jatakas*. He has largely neglected to use the Pali commentaries such as the *Sumangalavilāsī* and the *Papañcasūndanī,* though he has included the *Dhammapadaaṭṭhakathā* and the *Atthasālinī* (two of the few commentaries translated into English). His definition of terms such as revenue officer and feudalism is none too rigorous with the result that the entire range of the Gupta administration is brought into review because of connection of one kind or another between the officials and the task of revenue collection or disbursement.

But Jha has assiduously collected a large quantity of material, clarified a number of obscure points in the inscriptional evidence, and related scattered facts to several thematic categories. The work is a useful compendium of information on revenue matters pertaining to the period covered.

Wake Forest University B. G. Gokhale

THE REBELLIOUS RANI. By *Sir John Smyth.* (New York: Hillary House. 1966. Pp. 223. $6.50.)

Though from its title one might expect this book to be a biography of the Rani of Jhansi, or at least a history of her last years of conflict during the War of 1857–1858, it is neither. The Rani herself, in fact, plays a minor role in Brigadier Smyth's blow-by-blow account of the military efforts of Sir Hugh Rose and his men in Central India. The author "commanded a brigade at Dunkirk and a division against the Japanese in Burma" and has in this book sought to reconstruct the battle plans involving Jhansi, Kunch, Kalpi, and Gwalior during what he invariably calls "the Mutiny."

The narrative is replete with archaic clichés: "Whole races, such as the martial Sikhs and Gurkhas, stayed absolutely true to the British and rendered inestimable service"; "the infamous Nana Sahib"; "The mutineers . . . engaged in an orgy of loot and plunder . . . only a few of the Native servants remaining with their European masters"; "The massacre would have occurred with or without the approval of the Rani. Had she tried to oppose it she would have been a dead duck." There are also remarkable errors of fact, as on page sixty-one where the author states that the Peshwa's "sovereign rights passed into British hands" following the "Mahratta War of 1807." Smyth is most vitally interested in the details of battle and the composition of military units, to which he devotes the greatest care and attention, informing us, for example, that "The 25th Regiment

Native Infantry [afterwards the 125th Napier's Rifles] were formed under this nomenclature on 16th September, 1826, with 23 British officers, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Taylor. The Regiment had a major as second-in-command, five captains, ten lieutenants and six ensigns." This book is filled with such illuminating insights.

University of California, Los Angeles STANLEY WOLPERT

ISLAMIC MODERNISM IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN, 1857–1964. By *Aziz Ahmad.* [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 294. $6.75.)

PAKISTAN is a nation that, like Israel, professes to be a religious state. Like Israel, too (and like other nations that do not make this claim), Pakistan is divided by the advocates of two strong, competing religious positions: the orthodox (or fundamentalists, or traditionalists) and the modernists. To understand either country one must know something about these religious positions; politics, or economics, like patriotism, is not enough.

Aziz Ahmad, whose *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* is still the finest study of its kind, has addressed himself to the problem of describing the intellectual and theological trends that have marked Islamic modernism in the subcontinent since 1857. Although his study is necessarily selective, it seems unfortunate that the Ahmadiya are discussed only in relation to the 1953 disturbances, on the ground that sufficient material has already been written about them, and that their modernist posture is little different from that of any other modernist group. No one can contest the validity of this reasoning, but neither can he ignore the gap left by the omission of one of the most controversial groups within Pakistan today.

Aziz Ahmad has intended his book as an introduction. Nevertheless, he has surely succeeded in his purposes, although one wonders if he has not assumed a greater knowledge and understanding of Islam than exists among all but a very few advanced Western students.

Aziz Ahmad, who is professor of Islamic studies at the University of Toronto, begins his book with an excellent chapter summarizing the contacts of Indian Muslims with the West from the time of Akbar to that of the Mutiny. The volume then discusses the thought of Sayyid Ahmad Khan and the Aligarh movement, Iqbal and Abul Kalam Azad, as well as lesser figures and movements that surround these undoubted landmarks of modern Muslim thought. About a quarter of the book is devoted to present-day Pakistan Muslim thought, specifically that of Maudoodi and Parwez, with due attention to religious repercussions in political affairs.

A glossary lists some sixty Urdu words frequently used throughout the text. This is a valuable volume that gathers together a mass of material, much of which is nowhere conveniently accessible in English, and which provides an essential insight into any understanding of the modern nation of Pakistan, or of the Muslim minority in India.

Tufts University FREELAND ABBOTT

FRIENDS NOT MASTERS: A POLITICAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By *Mohammad Ayub Khan.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 275. $7.50.)

It would be easier to discuss this book properly if one knew exactly how it was compiled. President Ayub Khan tells us: "This is essentially a spoken book. After I had defined the broad scope and outlines of the book I asked some friends to prepare questions on the theme of different chapters. The question and answer sessions began in June 1964 and continued to the end of the year. . . ." It has been suggested that the two chapters on foreign policy derive largely from the former Foreign Minister, Z. A. Bhutto. Other chapters may represent the contribution of other persons close to the President. But we are given no clues in the text, and we must assume that the whole work is attributable to the President; the greater part does, obviously, bear the stamp of his personality. There emerges a portrait of a lonely man, occupied with his own thoughts and giving his friendship to few if any of his colleagues, military or civil. The title is not intended to refer to internal relations in Pakistan but to the approach that Ayub expects from the Great Powers in their international dealings with his country.

The President devotes only seventy pages to events in his life before his assumption of power in 1958. We learn that he found little true comradeship in his years as an officer in the British-Indian Army, while the first decade of independence (when the politicians were in power) was seen as a time of waste and inertia. Apart from a tribute to Jinnah, the references to the politicians and administrators are uniformly chilling. A clear impression emerges from the narrative that Ayub Khan as the commander in chief who became chief martial law administrator and then President in 1958 was no simple soldier, propelled against his inclination into the leadership of his country. Already he possessed a clear plan of action. He reproduces the "Short Appreciation of Present and Future Problems of Pakistan" which he wrote by himself in 1954, and this presages to a considerable extent the reforms that he implemented in the first years of martial law, leading up to the 1962 Constitution. It becomes evident that Ayub is determined to maintain this Constitution. He states: "I have had to work against very heavy odds and I will not see this system trifled with." Like every other leader of opinion in Pakistan, Ayub has had to grapple with the question of the role of Islam in the nation. His approach shows him at his best. He insists that Islam is not synonymous with bigotry and theocracy; it can be defined in "simple but modern terms" and become a "code of guidance" to ordinary people. On page 197 he reproduces his own outline of a "code of guidance," which is impressively enlightened. Ayub's Constitution and his system of Basic Democracy, together with the measures to modernize Islamic law in relation to the family, represent an attempt to mobilize the masses of ordinary folk. Despite some success, there has not really been a revolution in Pakistan. The country's rule is today as authoritarian as ever it was under the imperial power. In part, the failure to achieve a break-through was affected by the limitations of Pakistan's situation within the international system. Irretrievably involved with India in mutual deadlock over Kashmir, Pakistan has had to seek allies in the contest with big brother. First in the Commonwealth, then in the United States, and now in

Communist China, Pakistan has sought to discover "Friends not Masters." It has been a frustrating experience. Ayub chooses to end his book with the triumph of the presidential election of January 1965. Since that triumph, the President has had to tread a weary path. It is not clear where it will finally lead.

University of London HUGH TINKER

REVOLUTION IN PAKISTAN: A STUDY OF THE MARTIAL LAW ADMINISTRATION. By *Herbert Feldman.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 242. $6.50.)

THIS is one of a spate of excellent studies that have been produced in 1967 touching on developments in Pakistan. Our knowledge and understanding of the peoples, problems, and leaders of that nation have been significantly increased as a result. In a sense Mr. Feldman's contribution to this new literature is his book's most thorough and useful discussion of political change because it is the most intimate. This is a study of the forty-four months of martial law administration beginning in October 1958 and ending in June 1962 when a new constitution was promulgated. After the first three chapters which describe the circumstances surrounding the military take-over, the author devotes the next seven chapters, or most of the book, to a detailed examination of the reforms that the regime introduced in land, agriculture, and the public services as well as in the political, economic, social, and religious life of the nation. One chapter takes up the touchy subject of relations between the eastern and western wings of Pakistan, two chapters examine foreign policy and relations with India, and the concluding two chapters discuss the 1962 Constitution and attempt to identify historical precedents for the events of the martial law period. Ayub and the generals who assumed power in 1958 emphasized the stabilizing, liberating aspects of the regime, its sharp break from the corruption, intrigue, and incompetence of the past, while they played down the concept of an imposed martial law. The overriding power of the military remained predominant, to be sure, but the *coup* was bloodless, and, Feldman argues, the revolution never lost sight of the democratic idea. Indeed, the author faults the military administrators for being too mild, overly conciliatory in the application of reform. He wonders whether adequate economic and social reform could, under the circumstances, be effectively implemented through a system of "painless dosage." Feldman sees in this moderation a reversion to the paternalism of the post-1857 variety, which is an interesting if unimportant parallel, as the author himself points out. Carrying the historical analogy further, he asserts unequivocally that Pakistan's political future will follow the same course of change seen in British India from the council acts to responsible government. In Pakistan there will be universal adult suffrage, broadly elected assemblies, responsible cabinet ministers, and so forth. Feldman's optimism is encouraging.

Feldman was in Pakistan during most of the martial law period, and his assessment undoubtedly benefits greatly from this firsthand observation. Most points are made, however, on the basis of thorough documentation from official publications and the press. A bibliography listing the major sources would have

been useful. The book does contain nine valuable appendixes including relevant documents beginning with Ayub's initial proclamation of October 7, 1958.

University of Virginia WALTER HAUSER

A HUNDRED YEARS OF CEYLON TEA, 1867–1967. By *D. M. Forrest.* (New York: Hillary House. 1967. Pp. xiv, 15–320. $7.00.)

READERS with infinite patience may succeed in mining some useful information from the turgid pages of this book, but it remains a matter for amazement that a reputable publisher should be offering such a volume to an unwary public. It is true that the author warns us in his preface that the book was commissioned by the Ceylon Tea Propaganda Board. Alas, the result is not even a good piece of propaganda, much less a satisfactory work of economic history. What it is instead is a tangled jungle of meandering prose, salted with an abundance of contemporary quotations and peppered with innumerable names of men who were associated in one way or another with the tea industry of Ceylon.

The rise of tea as a large-scale plantation crop in Ceylon came in the wake of a blight that virtually destroyed the coffee industry in the 1870's. From that time to the present tea has played a crucial role in the economy of the island. Enough is said in this book to make it clear that there is an important story to be told here. But it is not a task for the amateur historian, particularly one addicted to an anecdotal style and of an antiquarian bent.

Sir George Williams University MARTIN DEMING LEWIS

DIE PHILIPPINEN—GESTERN UND HEUTE. By *G. I. Levinson.* German edition prepared by *Hans Piazza.* Translation by *Willy Steltner.* [Studien zur Geschichte Asiens, Afrikas und Lateinamerikas, Number 14/15.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1966. Pp. 373. DM 35.)

THIS is essentially a translation, executed under the auspices of the Institute of Modern General History of the Karl Marx University of Leipzig, of the major substance of two volumes by the Russian specialist on Southeast Asia, Georgi Ilyitch Levinson, which originally were published in Moscow in 1958 and 1959. In this German edition, however, two concluding chapters, as well as an epilogue on "most recent Philippine history," carry the narrative forward until about the beginning of 1965. Levinson conceived of this volume, addressed to the general reader, as a contribution to an understanding of the sources of the "spiritual force" with which "the impoverished rice farmers of Luzon and the harbor-workers of Manila, the peons of the sugar plantations and the mountain people of the gold mines have already for many years been fighting a dramatic struggle for their national and social liberation." And, indeed, throughout these pages there is no relief from a rigid Marxist perspective, culminating in a predictable conclusion: the Philippine Communist party lives and struggles on, "and notwithstanding terrible persecution and terror," intensive "thought control," and "anti-Communist hysteria," and despite the arrests of "well-known leaders of the national liberation movement" like Casto Alejandrino and Alfredo Saulo (recent

Huk chieftains) popular interest, especially among youth, in Marxism is "notably increasing."

When Levinson puts ideologizing aside, his insights, in the introductory chapter, into the historic one-sided pattern of American investments in the Philippines, the rigidities of rural social relationships on Luzon, and the enduring obstacles to meaningful land reform programs are often astute, although his statistics here are often dated. The heart of his book, however, is Philippine political history, from just before the outbreak of World War II through the collapse of the "liberation fight" of the Hukbalahap by 1953. Levinson sees the whole of this history as basically an incessant struggle against the exploitative economic and political domination of the US, and from this vantage point "American monopoly" interests are as much the villains as Paul V. McNutt ("the sworn enemy of the independence of the Philippine people"), or Ramon Magsaysay, seen as the stooge of Philippine landlords and US militarists. President Ferdinand Marcos' administration is described as exhibiting a suspicious ambivalence toward the "patriotic and democratic" forces in his country that originally had helped him to come to power, considering his compliance with American pressure to send Philippine forces to Vietnam. It is surprising, in view of the author's ideological proclivities, that his account of the Philippine Communist party, its leaders and fronts, and of the present Huk resurgence, is sketchy and spasmodic. It is clearly Levinson's attempt to submerge the Philippine Communists into the mainstream of nationalism, to make Communism merely a particularly strong variant of nationalism, so to speak. Hence nuances and distinctions in the Communist program are as little in evidence as an understanding of the Mafia-like criminality of much of the Huk organization today, or the Maoist appeals among Philippine student radicals in front groups like the *Kabataang Makabayan*.

University of Bridgeport JUSTUS M. VAN DER KROEF

Americas

ARCHIVES & THE PUBLIC INTEREST: SELECTED ESSAYS. By *Ernst Posner*. Edited by *Ken Munden*. Introduction by *Paul Lewinson*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1967. Pp. 204. $6.00.)

WHEN the Society of American Archivists decided to honor its distinguished former president Ernst Posner on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday, it chose to publish these essays dealing with a variety of archival problems. Unlike the more usual *Festschrift* that often bestows students' esteem without focusing on the honoree's major contributions, this book admirably represents Posner's thinking. And in a country where the archival profession is yet comparatively young and the field of archival theorists uncrowded, Posner's contribution stands as a significant achievement.

The articles dealing with archival training in Europe and the United States demonstrate the considerable differences in archival practice and theory in the two areas. In Europe the training has been far more specific and intensive, as at *L'École des Chartes* in Paris and at the Dahlem institute in Germany. Training at

the latter has been closely connected with the Prussian State Archives. The first formal academic training in archives in this country dates only from 1938, four years after the establishment of the National Archives. Soon after Columbia University inaugurated this course, it decided to drop it. Thereupon, its teacher, Solon J. Buck, transferred it to American University, located conveniently near the National Archives in Washington. When Buck was appointed Archivist of the United States in 1941, Posner assumed responsibility for the course and taught it until his retirement twenty years later. During these two decades, Posner largely determined the shape and dimension of archival training in this country.

Perhaps the most impressive aspect of this book is Posner's grasp of the problems that have faced and still face the National Archives. In "The National Archives and the Archival Theorist" he deals with the achievements and unsolved challenges of the National Archives. He admires the development of the organizational scheme of the record group, "a pragmatic and hence enormously useful refinement of the French concept of the *fonds*." He applauds, moreover, the sensible policy of microfilming entire series of archival records, "a final break with the archivist's proprietary attitude toward his records. . . ." On the debit side, Posner laments the lack of scholarly professionalism among the National Archives staff. Unlike their European counterparts who function as active scholars in addition to performing archival tasks, the staff of the National Archives has rarely engaged in scholarly writing because of the strict barrier between official work and research, despite the fact that many staff members have had the academic requisites for scholarly publication. The historical community would profit greatly if this barrier were breached, and concerned historians should follow Posner's lead in expressing dissatisfaction with a condition that impedes the effectiveness of the professional staff at this splendid repository.

University of Oklahoma WALTER RUNDELL, JR.

FREEDOM AND REFORM: ESSAYS IN HONOR OF HENRY STEELE COMMAGER. By *Richard B. Morris et al.* Edited by *Harold M. Hyman* and *Leonard W. Levy.* (New York: Harper and Row. 1967. Pp. xi, 400. $6.95.)

FOR nearly twenty years Henry Steele Commager has devoted much of his time and an incredible amount of energy, first to the struggle for freedom of speech and opinion, and subsequently for a foreign policy that would refrain from interfering with the liberty of other nations to adopt their own forms of government. Responding courageously to the challenge of McCarthyism, he spoke and wrote for many of his colleagues who lacked his ability to influence public opinion. A decade later the war in Vietnam led to his eloquent and persuasive protests against American interference. These public causes, however, have been but chapters in a career devoted to the scholarly interpretation of constitutional liberties and the promotion of progressive reform.

The contributors to this volume, published in honor of Commager's sixty-fifth birthday, reflect his broad scholarly interests rather than merely the activities of his former graduate students. Throughout his life Commager has been a reader with catholic tastes and a phenomenal memory. No doubt he is at home in the

field of each of these essays, which range over eight hundred years of history from English legal institutions to the United States Supreme Court and the New Deal, and from law and medicine to ethnic groups and reformers. Two of the essays are personal appreciations by his former Columbia colleagues (he now teaches at Amherst), Richard B. Morris and Allan Nevins; two are on medieval English and colonial legal processes; two are on early nineteenth-century religious history; and the remaining seven range over diverse topics from the Civil War period to the New Deal.

In the fields of American history with which I am familiar the essays present some interesting new interpretations. For example, John D. Wright, Jr., shows the destructive force of sectarianism in early western college education; Harold M. Hyman argues for the undesirability of any available compromise in 1860; and William Leuchtenburg shows more strongly than before the partisanship of the conservative justices of the Supreme Court in 1935. Perhaps only Commager himself could expertly appreciate all of this book, but other American historians should find something valuable, and much that is interesting, in these substantial essays.

University of Pennsylvania THOMAS C. COCHRAN

THE ORIGINS OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY: THE INTERNATIONAL HISTORY OF ANGLOAMERICA, 1492–1763. By *Max Savelle*. With the assistance of *Margaret Anne Fisher*. [American Diplomatic History Series.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. xiii, 624. $12.95.)

The Origins of American Diplomacy will doubtless be held the most important of the contributions that Professor Max Savelle has made over the years to illuminate American colonial history. Because "Angloamerica" is stressed in the title to this impressive volume, it does not mean that non-Anglo-American developments are ignored; they merely occupy a subordinate place in favor of those that are Anglo-American. In fact this is the only book that one can point to concerned with American diplomacy that covers its history systematically from the discovery of America to the Peace of Paris that terminated Britain's war for the Empire. It should therefore take its place as one of the essential books for students of American colonial history.

In the writing of such a book one has a choice of moving along upon a broad chronological front or of modifying this approach by use of the topical method. Savelle chose the latter, and I think wisely. This means, however, that to make sure that each topic is rounded out there is inevitable repetition of certain details. Chapter v, "Anglo-Dutch Relations Bearing upon America, 1648–59," Chapter vi, "Anglo-Spanish Diplomacy Relative to America, 1648–89," and Chapter vii, "Anglo-Portuguese Colonial Diplomacy, 1648–89," are concerned with English diplomacy from the Peace of Westphalia (1648) to the English Revolution of 1689, while Chapter ix, "Anglo-French Diplomacy with Regard to America, 1648–1702," covers the same period and then continues to the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1702. It is impossible to avoid some repetition in developing these chapters.

Anyone who seeks to write the early history of English diplomacy as it bears

upon America must rely heavily upon Frances Gardiner Davenport's scholarly *European Treaties Bearing upon the Territory of the United States and Its Dependencies* in three volumes that brings one down to the conclusion of the Treaty of Utrecht (1715)—without reference to the less useful fourth volume of the *Treaties* by Charles O. Paullin, covering the period 1716–1815, since the latter offers no such aids as do the illuminating essays in the Davenport volumes. It holds true of the present book. It can be said, nevertheless, that Savelle's entire volume testifies to his scholarly approach to diplomatic history. The work is, in fact, a climax to a long period in preparation for such a task. In 1934 his "Colonial Origins of American Diplomatic Principles" was published in the *Pacific Historical Review,* and in 1939 came "Diplomatic Preliminaries of the Seven Years' War in America" in the *Canadian Historical Review;* this was followed in 1940 by *The Diplomatic History of the Canadian Boundary, 1749–63,* and in 1942 by *Foundation of American Civilization,* which gives considerable space to American colonial diplomatic history. Finally, in 1957, "The Forty-Ninth Degree of North Latitude as an International Boundary, 1719: The Origin of an Idea" appeared in the *Canadian Historical Review.*

In the present volume I should like to commend particularly Chapter XIX, "Angloamerica in the Diplomacy of the Seven Years' War, 1756–63," as the best account in brief compass that we possess. The bibliography, together with the footnotes, merits only praise. Savelle may rightfully claim to be the leading living authority on diplomacy involving America during the colonial period. Even so excellent a book, however, is not free from error. The map on page 182—outlining the European possessions in the eastern Caribbean in 1736—does not list Grenada as a French possession but as an island "assumed to be neutral in later negotiations," despite the fact that it was heavily populated by the French who by 1763 had possessed it for over a century. Nor in Article IX of the peace treaty of that year when it was surrendered to Great Britain was it listed as "neutral."

Lehigh University LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON

WILDERNESS AND THE AMERICAN MIND. By *Roderick Nash.* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 256. $6.50.)

To trace the American attitude toward wilderness from its European origins to the Wilderness Act of 1964 is quite an undertaking, but the author has done this and more. He begins with a problem of definition. What is a wilderness, and how has it been defined historically? (For the ancient Hebrews it was a desert.) He is interested in a wide variety of subjects as related to his theme. Among the dozens of individuals examined at some length are Henry David Thoreau, John Muir, and Aldo Leopold, each of whom gets a chapter. Particular episodes in the movement for conservation and wilderness preservation come in for extended attention. The essential theme of the book is that a transformation has occurred in American thinking about wild places—from fear and hatred to appreciation and even reverence—but that such a change has not assured real protection of the remaining areas. They may be "loved out of existence" rather than brought under ax, plow, or superhighway. "By definition

man is alien to wilderness, and even the most careful camper leaves the marks of his passage on the land."

In the early chapters this study is reminiscent of Hans Huth's *Nature and the American* (1957). The change in popular attitudes is traced in a similar way, with an emphasis in each on Romanticism and the transcendentalists. But Nash devotes almost half of his book to the twentieth century, to "The Wilderness Cult," "Hetch Hetchy," and "Aldo Leopold: Prophet," as well as to recent controversies and decisions. His focus is sharper, he treats rigorously various conceptions of wilderness, and his objectivity is such that he does not align himself clearly with the preservationist groups. The book is both scholarly and readable. Much of the biographical information is interesting, and the reader is likely to be surprised by the subleties of American thinking about wilderness. Even the skeptics may find themselves agreeing with the cumulative arguments for preservation. Benton MacKaye, Robert Marshall, Sigurd Olson, Joseph Wood Krutch, and many others have recognized the inevitable "tension" between civilization and wilderness, but they argue eloquently for the contribution that wilderness can make. As Krutch once expressed it, "the wilderness and the idea of the wilderness is one of the permanent homes of the human spirit." But the author does not ignore those other Americans who have decided that "the dream, like the wild continent," is "beyond recovery."

University of Illinois J. Leonard Bates

LIQUOR AND ANTI-LIQUOR IN VIRGINIA, 1619–1919. By *C. C. Pearson* and *J. Edwin Hendricks*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 342. $8.75.)

The late Professor Pearson worked on this book at intervals over many years; his coauthor revised both the text and the full footnotes, drawing upon some of the modern histories of temperance. Their book, despite its balanced title, treats only superficially the sellers and drinkers of liquor and emphasizes those who sought to regulate or prohibit it. The study views regulation as an outgrowth of the Virginia tradition of local government and hence as "the most successful answer" to the alcohol problem. It convincingly attributes the demand for more stringent restriction of the use of liquor to the middle classes, especially as embodied in the Baptist and Methodist Churches. In the early twentieth century, the enemies of strong drink temporarily overcame the upper classes and "the rabble" (as the poor are occasionally termed) and imposed prohibition.

Too much of this history of temperance is overaged wine in new bottles. While its first half attempts slight modifications of the account given in John Allen Krout's *The Origins of Prohibition,* it mostly supplements that historical classic with confirmatory details. In so doing, the book gives a good description of the regional and class conflicts over temperance within ante bellum Virginia, but seldom recognizes adequately the role of outside influences. The general interpretive studies of pre-Civil War reform, which would have helped to supply this deficiency, are used little or not at all. Often overlooked are what seem to be opportunities for fruitful comparisons of the Old Dominion's temperance move-

ment with those of northern states. A large portion of the book is, instead, provincial in approach and needlessly arid in its prose.

But the chapters on the Anti-Saloon League redeem the rest. They are based upon such valuable sources as early interviews with participants and manuscripts sometimes no longer extant. They contain an astute analysis of the league's leaders, constituency, and methods. Especially illuminating are the discussions of relationships between the "Dry" and Democratic machines, between the disfranchisement of Negroes and the prohibitionist victory, and between the closing of the liquor sources of the upper classes and the revival of the "Wets." An abbreviated summary suggests the direction of Virginia's policies on liquor since 1919. The book as a whole lends further support to the contention that prohibitionists were mainly nonurban, middle-class, evangelical Protestants.

Kent State University FRANK L. BYRNE

ROGER WILLIAMS: THE CHURCH AND THE STATE. By *Edmund S. Morgan.* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1967. Pp. 170. $4.50.)

THIS book presents the most arresting analysis of Williams' thought that has yet appeared. It penetrates the obscurities of helter-skelter polemics to reveal underlying symmetry and simple profundity. Professor Morgan believes Williams has been misunderstood and misjudged. Too little noted is the sturdy conservatism of Williams' insistence upon moral law. His liberalism with respect to liberty of conscience and confidence in reason, moreover, was more limited than Jefferson's. His realism, daring, and originality in the search for root principles has perhaps been underestimated. The book stresses his drive to follow an idea to its logical consequences. He sought the rigor of moral consistency. He insisted on realism in viewing history and analyzing government. His critical reading of history and his scriptural typology were at odds with uncritical Christian historiography; historians, in Williams' opinion, could not presume to say what God's purpose was in this or that great event.

Disagreeing with Perry Miller's view that Williams' prime concern was theology, Morgan concentrates on the church, the state, and relations between them. The analysis reveals the thrust of an original mind to synthesize basic assumptions that would enable mankind to resolve conflicts. Williams asked first the realist question—what could a state actually do?—before he asked what a state ought to do. History demonstrated that use of force to establish religion was futile. It diverted the church from its spiritual functions and the state from its civil functions when a government undertook to imprison, banish, or execute dissenters or make war in God's name. The functions a state could effectively serve were simple but basic: preservation of the bodies and goods of the people. A corollary was government enforcement of moral law, restraining disorderly acts adverse to public welfare, safety, and good morals. Protection of bodies and goods would justify defensive war, but wars to punish unbelievers were an unchristian aggression. Peoples constantly deluded themselves with the vanity that God conferred on their nation a special mission to judge and reform their neighbors. The real functions of government were to preserve bodies and goods. "Williams knew that almost any war looks defensive to the people waging it,"

notes Morgan, and "that Europe had been drenched in blood" by aggressors who thought they had a divine mission, but Williams denied that war could ever be holy.

Williams' root principles concerning the source of political authority cut through the *mystique* of divine favor and manifest destiny: government officials had no access to divinity; the only authority a government had was the power conveyed by the people; God did not authorize any body politic to act in His behalf, and therefore no people could delegate religious authority to a government; a covenant made by men in the name of God could not establish the will of God. Theories of divine favor and of holy mission to overthrow evil regimes were moralistic self-deceptions. God did not give religious duties to governments; God did not command rebellions against unholy regimes; God did not authorize wars for holy ends. With the coming of Christ, God put all nations on a par. God did not favor one people or one kind of civil government above another. Williams, concludes Morgan, "made all governments equal and removed the need for a government's sitting in judgment on every other government." This volume is one of the finer fruits of the new literature on Puritan thought.

Wesleyan University SAMUEL HUGH BROCKUNIER

CIVILIANS UNDER MILITARY JUSTICE: THE BRITISH PRACTICE SINCE 1689, ESPECIALLY IN NORTH AMERICA. By *Frederick Bernays Wiener.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1967. Pp. xxxii, 346. $11.50.)

IN *Reid* v. *Covert* and *Kinsella* v. *Krueger,* decided in 1956, the United States Supreme Court sustained the convictions by military tribunals abroad of two American women, one the wife of a sergeant, the other the wife of an officer, for the murder of their husbands. The Court held that neither Article III of the Constitution nor the Fifth or Sixth Amendments protected the American "camp follower" when he was tried by American military tribunals for offenses committed in foreign lands; as long as the defendants were not denied due process, the Congress could provide for the trial of such offenders as it saw fit.

A change in the composition of the Court, and a change of vote by a member of the majority, resulted in a rehearing. In 1957, after reargument, the Court withdrew its decisions in the Reid and Kinsella cases, wrote new opinions, and held unconstitutional in time of peace and as applied to these two women, Article II (11) of the Uniform Code of Military Justice under which the military court had originally assumed jurisdiction. The ruling rested on the fact that the defendants were charged with capital offenses.

Three years later, there came other decisions of the Court—*Kinsella* v. *Singleton, Grisham* v. *Hagen, McElroy* v. *Guagliardo,* and *Wilson* v. *Bohlender*—that extended the protection of the Constitution in peacetime to wives and dependents of service personnel and to civil personnel charged with noncapital crimes.

In all of these cases, Mr. Frederick Bernays Wiener, the author of this volume, served as counsel for the defendants.

Following these decisions, Wiener "sought to assemble consecutively all the

materials that had been presented in a whole series of briefs filed in the several cases," and he further intended to supplement "at least in some measure the historical research that under the pressure of time had up to then been necessarily undertaken on a once-over-lightly basis." The latter led him, among other depositories, to the archives of Windsor Castle, the William L. Clements Library, the Boston Public Library, the Public Record Office, the New York and Massachusetts Historical Societies, the Peabody Institute, and the Ministry of Defence Library. So voluminous was the material and so untouched its use by scholars that what Wiener had intended as a single background chapter on the British experience turned into a book.

Civilians under Military Justice begins with a consideration of the first Mutiny Act (1689) and the first camp follower Article of War; it ends with an adequate treatment of the Army and Air Force Act of 1955. Fully half of the book deals with the court-martial jurisdiction of the British Army in North America between 1765 and 1783. "In sum," says Wiener, "the rulings in England at the time that the Thirteen Colonies went their separate way reflected a municipal military jurisdiction quite as limited as that now obtaining in the United States. . . ."

Wiener has written an authoritative and important book. It should prove of value both to the legal scholar and to American and British historians of the revolutionary period. For those who are, to a degree, familiar with the cases, Wiener's contribution is the depth and extensiveness of his study, bringing to light a great mass of significant material heretofore ignored or forgotten.

Vassar College C. Gordon Post

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY. By *Russell F. Weigley.* [The Wars of the United States.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. xiv, 688. $12.95.)

It was a happy thought on the part of the editor and publisher (Louis Morton and Macmillan) of "The Wars of the United States" series to include a volume on the history of the United States Army. And it was a happy choice to assign this volume to Professor R. F. Weigley, who had previously demonstrated his competence to handle large or significant topics by producing a perceptive study of American military thought and a biography of Quartermaster General M. C. Meigs of the Civil War era.

This particular topic is large partly because of the period that had to be covered, from the colonial years to the 1960's. It is large too because the United States has had throughout its history two armies: a regular or professional army and a citizen or militia army. Weigley rightly conceived that he had to tell the story of both armies and to combine the story when the armies merged, as they have done in wars. Such a broad scope was not the mark of the two histories of the army that previously have been standard, one by W. A. Ganoe (1936) and the other by O. L. Spaulding (1937); they were concerned mainly with the Regular Army, and both reflected the bias toward citizen soldiers fixed in military thinking, and often in civilian thinking, by Emory Upton. Weigley repudiates the Uptonian bias and also the notion of some champions of a citizen

army that a professional establishment is dangerous to democracy. His massive book, based on wide reading, written with spirit, and argued with sense, must become the standard treatment.

In a review it is possible only to indicate the broad features of the book. As the author summarizes his purpose: "This is a history not of battles and campaigns but of the Army as an institution maintained by the nation to fight its battles and campaigns, or to deter a need to fight them." The book is, it is fair to say, a record of the army's way of making war—of its command arrangements, its organization, its administration, its weapons, and the like. The sheer bulk of the information on these subjects alone will make the book a prized reference.

But this is more than just a huge factual compilation. Weigley attempts to describe and analyze an army way of making war that is an expression of American culture. He catches up the essence of his thesis in his summary of World War II which, he says, "called for the very ingredients that American history had best prepared": the mass citizen army, the skilled regular officer corps, the lavish equipment of industry, and, finally, the enemy repulsed and beaten. The war was, in fact, "a kind of Indian raid writ large."

It may have been also the last war in which these ingredients would appear. Weigley thinks that in the future the US may have to fight limited wars of the Korean and Vietnam type, wars that are like the wars of the eighteenth century. But these older limited wars had remained limited because "they were fought in the absence of democratic public opinion and so were not fanned by popular passions into national crusades." In short, a new military tradition in America is in the making. Weigley believes that the army will be able to adjust its thinking to the new ways of war. It is the most flexible of the three services, he writes, and this adaptability constitutes "a prime assurance of its ability to serve the country in the uncertain future."

Louisiana State University T. Harry Williams

THE CONSERVATIVE TRADITION IN AMERICA. By *Allen Guttmann.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 214. $6.00.)

After the appearance of Louis Hartz's *The Liberal Tradition in America* one could only ask: Is there a conservative in the house? Opening untried doors, Allen Guttmann finds that the conservative tradition in America has persisted primarily as a phenomenon of letters, a subject often neglected by students of formal political theory. Indeed, the major contribution of Guttmann's book is his fine analysis of literary conservatism. Among American writers, for example, Guttmann finds the human dwelling as the central conservative symbol—from Irving's Bracebridge Hall and Hawthorne's Seven Gables to James's Palazzo Roccanera and Faulkner's Mansion. In other chapters the literary theme also emerges as the author studies the revival of conservative ideas in More's new humanism, Tate's southern agrarianism, Ransom's New Criticism, Santayana's timocratic Hellenism, and, of course, Eliot's Anglo-Catholicism.

Guttmann's major purpose, aside from discussing the alienation of the aesthetes, is to "trace the decline of Conservatism in American political life" and "to indicate why certain men and movements are not as conservative as they are

sometimes claimed to be." To this end the author concentrates on three institutions. In the realm of political thought, he traces the familiar story of conservatism's failure to survive either in the loyalism of Boucher, the federalism of Ames, or the schizoid organicism of Calhoun and Fitzhugh. Nor could it abide American Catholicism, whose liberal wing, having long ago repudiated Brownson's medieval *étatisme,* is currently celebrating ecumenicalism and rejoicing in "the end of the 'Constantine Era' and in the prospects of a free Church in an open society." Even the "Military Establishment," Guttmann contends in what doubtless will be his most controversial chapter, is no bastion of conservative ideas or influence. Drawing upon the sociological studies of Huntington and others, as well as the political performance of generals during World War II, the author maintains that despite its authoritarian structure the military is compatible with "social democracy" in both domestic and foreign affairs. "It was the Ivy Leaguers in the C.I.A. and not the graduates of Annapolis and West Point who subverted the Arbenz government in Guatemala and the neutralist coalition in Laos, who overthrew Mossadegh in Iran and managed the fiasco at the Bay of Pigs." What this statement purports to prove is difficult to say, unless Guttmann is prepared to show that the military would have made different decisions. Perhaps the military's innocent democratic idealism, noted recently by Mary McCarthy on her Vietnam tour, shrouds a graver atrophy of moral sensibility in the heat of war. In this connection Guttmann discusses Melville's *Billy Budd* as a dramatization of the military ethic. There is no mention, unfortunately, of these lines: "A man who though he would always maintain his manhood in battle might not prove altogether reliable in a moral dilemma involving aught of the tragic."

Compared to the studies of Kirk, Rossiter, Viereck, and others, Guttmann's book lacks a sustained argument; it is a series of independent essays tied together more by the publisher's thread than the author's thesis. Within chapters, however, Guttmann displays a mastery of recent scholarship and a gift for synthesis, an engaging prose and a feeling for the relevant. As an author who is striving for a "socialism with a sense of the past," moreover, Guttmann reveals again that a writer on the Left can possess a deep respect for genuine conservative values.

San Francisco State College JOHN P. DIGGINS

JARED ELIOT, MINISTER, DOCTOR, SCIENTIST, AND HIS CONNECTICUT. By *Herbert Thoms.* ([Hamden, Conn.:] Shoe String Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 156. $6.00.)

THIS book might have been better entitled "Colonial Connecticut and Jared Eliot." Nearly half of it is concerned with various aspects of the history of the colony: its birth, early medical history, progress in education, and the importance of its churches. Most of the important early settlers, clerics, and governors receive some attention. Eliot and his antecedents are mentioned whenever possible in this narrative.

There follow chapters on Eliot. He began his professional life in 1706, the year he was graduated from Yale. He taught for a time and attained a Harvard M.A. In 1710 he became a pastor, and for the rest of his life he combined clerical duties with calls as a physician; his medical knowledge had come from service as

an apprentice. In addition to these activities Eliot served for thirty-three years on the governing board of Yale, contributing much to the development of that institution. Besides being a prominent cleric, physician, and educator, Eliot was a farmer. Except for a few sermons, his only published work, *Essays upon Field Husbandry in New England* (1760), was in this field. Dr. Thoms devotes a long chapter to it.

The book contains several illustrations of gravestones, houses, and old portraits. To an appendix are relegated letters and further notes on Yale and on Eliot's varied interests in such things as silk and iron manufacture. The footnotes follow; they indicate that the author seems to have relied largely on secondary sources. There is an index.

Thoms has given us a good glimpse of early Connecticut, but he has presented too much material and introduced us to too many people in too short a space. Information about Eliot is scattered and is hard to retrieve even with the help of the index. The book is not well organized; it gives the impression of being a series of sketches rather than a unified whole.

Fredericksburg, Virginia GORDON W. JONES

ULSTER EMIGRATION TO COLONIAL AMERICA, 1718–1775. By *R. J. Dickson.* [Ulster-Scot Historical Series, Number 1.] (New York: Humanities Press. 1966. Pp. xiv, 320. $7.50.)

DR. Dickson's study of emigration from Ulster to North America in the years between the Peace of Utrecht and the Battle of Lexington is confessedly and necessarily focused upon Irish Presbyterians. The author sets the transatlantic migration of Irish Presbyterians against the immediate background of a large Scottish Presbyterian migration into Ulster in the years following the overthrow of the Jacobite regime in Ireland and the establishment of peace in that country after 1691. Between 1691 and 1715 approximately fifty thousand Scots went to Ulster and took lands on favorable terms for lease periods of twenty-one and thirty-one years. The expiration of these leases and the unwillingness or inability of northern Irish landlords to renew on similarly favorable terms, a succession of generally bad harvests between 1715 and 1723 and again in 1727 and 1728, and depression in linen exports during those same years combined to produce the first two major waves of emigrants from Ulster to America in the periods 1718–1720 and 1727–1729. Other waves followed thereafter with the climax of the period covered by this study occurring between 1770 and 1775.

The author agrees that most of the emigrants leaving Ulster for America during the eighteenth century were Presbyterians, but he does not see religious persecution as a principal cause of the emigration. To be sure, tithes, the Test Act, and challenges to the validity of Presbyterian marriages issuing from ecclesiastical courts were all matters not lightly dismissed. Yet, in the real world of eighteenth-century Ulster these matters were of immediate practical concern to only a small number of Irish Presbyterians. Improvement of the legal position of Presbyterians and their church in Ireland, furthermore, actually antedated the beginning of large-scale Presbyterian emigration from the country. Although legal toleration was not granted until 1719, toleration was a fact for Irish Presby-

terians after the Hanoverian succession. With Allan Brodrick and William Conolly, the two most outspoken and persistent champions of toleration for Protestant Dissenters, installed respectively as Lord Chancellor and Speaker of the Irish House of Commons in 1714, the probability of enforcement of the Test or Acts of Uniformity against Irish Presbyterians was extremely remote. Restoration and enlargement of the *regium donum* preceded the first wave of emigration by four years. Some Irish Presbyterians may have emigrated for the sake of conscience or to escape prelatic bigotry, but the vast majority left in pursuit of economic opportunity and the prospect of a better life in America.

Dickson describes and discounts the activities of land promoters; he discusses the role of port agents, official and landlord attitudes toward emigration, the number and kind of vessels engaged in the emigrant trade, the duration of voyages, and arrival conditions in the receiving ports. The book includes six highly useful appendixes containing important data on emigrant ships, volume of the trade, and newspaper accounts of emigrant voyages.

Although I would dissent slightly from the author's interpretation and relation of the linen trade to the emigration of 1770–1775, on balance this book is a highly interesting, well-written, thoroughly researched, specialized study that will be silently honored by much scribbling on lecture notes. Dickson's work will be of special interest to scholars teaching and writing in the fields of American colonial history and Anglo-Irish history.

University of Notre Dame ROBERT E. BURNS

THE LETTERS AND PAPERS OF EDMUND PENDLETON, 1734–1803. In two volumes. Collected and edited by *David John Mays*. [Virginia Historical Society, Documents, Volumes VII and VIII.] (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Society. 1967. Pp. xxvii, 377; xiii, 382–753. $20.00 the set.)

EDMUND Pendleton was among the most considerable men of his age. A lawyer by training, he played an active role in Virginia politics before, during, and after the Revolution, serving in the House of Burgesses and First Continental Congress, the prerevolutionary conventions in Virginia, various positions under the new Virginia Constitution, and the Virginia Ratifying Convention. He was president of the Virginia Convention that instructed Richard Henry Lee to move for independence, and, as president of the Virginia Ratifying Convention, he helped to carry the day against the forces led by Patrick Henry. Yet, after his death in 1803, Pendleton's name dropped from its deserved place of prominence among America's revolutionary leaders. David John Mays, a Richmond attorney and amateur historian par excellence, has made it his life's avocation to redress the balance. This he has done in an able biography, published in 1952, and with the present work, a collection of Pendleton's known correspondence and writings.

Through some unknown stroke of fortune, most of Pendleton's private papers disappeared from view over a century ago. Those that survived were scattered in various collections, private and public, across the country. In preparing his earlier work, Mays collected and transcribed every known piece and

has now made them available in the present work. And a valuable tool this collection should prove, both as a companion to the biography and as a research tool to the scholar working in the revolutionary and the Federalist periods.

The collection is strongest in material relating to the military campaigns of the war, particularly those in Virginia. These letters reflect the anxieties of the time and reveal Pendleton as an incisive analyst of the events occurring around him. In addition, the legal papers relating to diverse matters, Pendleton's legal opinions, and his addresses to the ratifying convention will prove valuable to the student of the postrevolutionary period.

Of the letters, the majority are addressed to either William Woodward, a close friend of Pendleton's and an officer in the Second Virginia Regiment, or to James Madison, with whom he carried on a weekly correspondence for much of the war and several years thereafter. There is, however, material in varying amounts addressed to Thomas Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, and two or three dozen other individuals of lesser prominence.

The editorial apparatus is thorough and will prove useful for further inquiries. Mays has identified all individuals mentioned where it was possible to do so and has provided ample editorial elaboration concerning events and subjects that might be unfamiliar to the reader. In addition, there is a complete bibliography; each entry is labeled as to origin; and the index is complete.

If there is any criticism of the volumes, it is that there are frequent gaps in materials, sometimes as much as a year in length. An outstanding weakness is the paucity of materials relating to the Confederation period, although there is some interesting correspondence concerning the surrender of Virginia's western lands. This is, of course, not the fault of the editor but of the unknown stroke of fortune one hundred years ago, and it does not necessarily detract from the overall importance of the work.

Stratford College Alvin L. Hall

YANKEES AT LOUISBOURG. By *G. A. Rawlyk*. [University of Maine Bulletin. University of Maine Studies, Second Series, Number 85.] (Orono: University of Maine Press. 1967. Pp. xviii, 209. $2.50.)

For Canadians, if not for Americans, this book is timely. Partly from motives of sustaining an interest in the past and partly from the necessity of shoring up the dwindling economy of Cape Breton Island, the Canadian government has embarked upon the project of restoring the famous fortress, a work now well advanced. Americans will not be indifferent to the venture for the successful siege of 1745 was "the most important military achievement of the American colonists prior to the War of the Revolution."

For two generations history has been well served by J.S. MacLennan's *Louisbourg from Its Foundations to Its Fall* (1918), a massive monograph written with high professional standards by a nonprofessional historian. Professor Rawlyk does not challenge the principal conclusions of this basic work. His purposes have been to intensify the investigation and magnify the conclusions within more narrow limits. What emerges is the best and fullest account of the first siege of Louisbourg that we have. Apart from its own obvious merits, the

book is a testimonial to the soundness of MacLennan's work. Most other serious writing on the subject has been peripheral.

The general thesis may be familiar, but Rawlyk multiplies its conviction many times. The New Englanders were "almost Levellers." They were raw and disobedient soldiers, but their potential was most formidable. Pepperrell had no military science, but, in a manner perhaps reminiscent of Old England, he muddled through. *Yankees at Louisbourg* enlarges upon the forebodings, current at the time, of the eventual division of the English-speaking world. This great exercise in combined operations was really the work of two distinctive peoples.

Though its setting is Canadian, Rawlyk's book is really one of American history. The New England character, its exuberant self-righteousness, and its abounding confidence are familiar historical stock in trade, but he provides much more than footnotes to the American dream. The epic of Louisbourg was not a sermon in stone. The strengths and frailties of the Yankees are here portrayed in action.

University of New Brunswick W. S. MacNutt

THE REVEREND SAMUEL DAVIES ABROAD: THE DIARY OF A JOURNEY TO ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, 1753–55. Edited, with an introduction, by *George William Pilcher.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 176. $5.95.)

The diary of a young American clergyman, which intermittently records the events of two mid-eighteenth-century years, should not be expected to arouse much interest or merit publication. True, the observations of an Edwards, a Whitefield, a Tennent, or even a Frelinghuysen would not pass unnoticed, might excite students of the Great Awakening, and perhaps even arouse the curiosity of the wider circle of colonial historians. But the words of a Davies? It is hardly a name to elicit an immediate response or even recognition. Yet the comments of this Presbyterian minister from Virginia deserve far more attention than they are likely to get, and the University of Illinois Press has performed a real service by publishing a book that is not destined to return a profit.

The diary of Samuel Davies offers a penetrating insight into the difficulties experienced by the dissenters in Hanover County, Virginia, and the efforts of a young Presbyterian minister to obtain a greater measure of toleration. On a joint fund-raising mission to England and Scotland with Gilbert Tennent on behalf of the College of New Jersey, Davies succeeded in his primary objective and also managed to obtain assistance for Indian missions and books for his private educational endeavors in Virginia. His contacts with the leading religious and political figures evoked comments both humorous and incisive. The value of a single passage on the Wesleys must serve to illustrate the tremendous importance of the diary: "Notwithstanding all their wild Notions, they appear very benevolent, devout and zealous Men, that are labouring with all their Might to awaken the secure World to a Sense of Religion; and they are honoured with Success. But I am afraid their encouraging so many illiterate Men to preach the Gospel, will have bad Consequences. I heard one of them last Tuesd.

Nt. but he explained Nothing at all. His Sermon was a meer Huddle of pathetic Confusion, and I was uneasy, as it might bring a Reproach upon experimental Religion. The despised Methodists, with all their Foibles, seem to me to have more of the Spirit of Religion than any Set of People in this Island."

Professor George Pilcher deserves commendation for having recognized the significance of Davies' diary. His editing of the mutilated and dispersed original volumes, moreover, demonstrates exceptional ability. The book is extensively footnoted, particularly identifying the literally hundreds of individuals with whom Davies came in contact; there are also a superb introduction and a fine index.

Lycoming College GERALD E. HARTDAGEN

AARON BURR: PORTRAIT OF AN AMBITIOUS MAN. By *Herbert S. Parmet* and *Marie B. Hecht.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. xii, 399. $8.95.)

THE biographer who satisfactorily explains Aaron Burr must combine unusual insight and narrative skill. Parmet and Hecht have written a skillful narrative of Burr's long, often bizarre, and seemingly purposeless life, but they have not succeeded in explaining his enigmatic and complex character. The failure would be unimportant if it were not that Burr's personal limitations—his opportunism, deviousness, and essential amorality—prevented him from realizing his own political or financial ambitions and rendered him, contemporaneously and subsequently, one of the most vilified figures in American history. The interpretation of Burr presented in this biography is presumably implied by its subtitle: "An Ambitious Man." But was Burr's ambition qualitatively or quantitatively different from that of other public men of his day? If it differed in kind, what was the specific content of his ambition? Such questions are neither asked nor answered in this book. It is, instead, a well-written political biography.

Judged as such, it is a competent study, but, unfortunately, no improvement over Nathan Schachner's biography of Burr published in 1937 and reissued in a paperback edition in 1961. This is disappointing, for one would expect a book of this length, based as it is on extensive research in original sources, to offer fresh interpretations. After all, another biography of Burr is justified only if it has something new to say about the events of Burr's crowded life and his impact on them. The "general reader" will doubtless find this biography instructive and entertaining, but the scholar encounters, again and again, familiar tales unrelieved by original interpretation—the story of the Manhattan Company, the alleged northeastern secessionist plot of 1804, the interview at Weehawken, the conspiracy and treason trial, to name only a few. The authors do, it is true, occasionally touch up the familiar portrait. Their account of the election of 1800, for example, is perhaps the most satisfactory description yet offered of Burr's deft footwork in holding the presidential door open for Jefferson while himself standing on its threshold. The material they uncovered suggesting that Albert Gallatin tried to push Burr through the door will also be of interest to students of the period.

But, on balance, this book will be of slight value to scholars and should attract few readers who know about Schachner's excellent biography.

Lafayette College JACOB E. COOKE

THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICANS OF NEW YORK: THE ORIGINS, 1763–1797. By *Alfred F. Young.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1967. Pp. xv, 636. $12.25.)

A BRIEF review cannot do justice to the scholarship, wealth of material, variety of themes, or the importance of this massive study. Young has re-examined the relationship between party alignment and class or economic interest posed by Beard and Becker in their seminal works. Although he begins his analysis with the outset of the revolutionary era he concentrates on the period of the Washington administrations.

Politics in colonial New York was dominated by two great competing families, Livingstons and Delanceys, and their cohorts. The war eliminated the Delanceys and brought about a split between the patriots—the conservative Whigs and the popular Whigs led by Governor George Clinton. In the new alignment, the Federalists were led by a coalition of landed families, by men with social standing long accustomed to wielding power, and supported at the polls by former Tories and tenants. The leaders of the Clintonian faction were of the middle class, the *nouveau riche,* men new to power who had risen during the war, had gravitated to the governor's leadership, and had been sustained by the largess of his office. Although politically supported by the yeomen, they had made, or hoped to make, their fortunes in the newer forms of wealth. Theirs was the politics of opportunity rather than of privilege. Neither radicals nor levelers, they advocated mild reform. Drawing little support from the frontier or the urban lower class, they sought to avoid any measures that might burden their agrarian constituents with taxes. Here was the major source of their opposition to the federal Constitution. Their Federalist opponents spoke for interests requiring national solutions and pursued careers in national government since the Clintonians denied them influence in the state. Until the 1790's nationality had relatively little to do with politics.

The Clintonians lost their grip on the state with the Federalist victory over ratification of the Constitution. Their metamorphosis into an effective party, the Democratic-Republicans, took eight years. And the major elements in this transformation were the alienation of some Livingstons, the Van Cortlandts, and New York mechanics from the Federalists, the splintering of Federalist support on the frontier, the rise of the Democratic societies, and, most important, the outbreak of the European war. The Republican party was the result of local developments and not a response to national politics. Hamilton's domestic policies were not decisive. Federalist support, moreover, was based largely on the conviction that the measures of the national government benefited the state. Neither party lacked democratic appeal to the electorate, showed interest in revising the undemocratic features of the state constitution, or took up the plea of the tenant or debtor.

Was there then a relationship between party, class, or economic interest? Young's answer might be more emphatic, but from his study it is clear that many voters split their ballot and often changed their minds and that the fortunes of both parties repeatedly rose and fell within a short span of time. Economic and class interests, moreover, were so splintered and variable that they had meaning only in a section or region. What then essentially remains of Beard's thinking?

University of Nebraska JACK M. SOSIN

PORTRAITS OF JOHN AND ABIGAIL ADAMS. By *Andrew Oliver.* THE ADAMS PAPERS. Series 4, PORTRAITS. *L. H. Butterfield,* Editor in Chief. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xxxvi, 284. $12.50.)

IN autumn 1968 the Smithsonian Institution will open the National Portrait Gallery, "a free public museum for the exhibition and study of portraiture . . ." depicting men and women who have made significant contributions to the history, development, and culture of the people of the United States. The new museum is to include within its varied activities an appropriate program of research and publication. Among its products are to be expected works such as this volume by Mr. Oliver, which is a model of its kind, standing henceforth beside two highly respected 1962 publications: A. L. Bush's *Life Portraits of Thomas Jefferson* and C. C. Seller's *Benjamin Franklin in Portraiture.* The present volume is but the first in what we are told is to be a portrait series to accompany the publication of *The Adams Papers.* Taken altogether these recent developments indicate that the study of American portraiture has entered a period of productivity and promise.

The editors of *The Adams Papers* have for a number of years accumulated a body of materials concerning portraits of distinguished members of the family. Recently they enlisted Oliver to take these in hand and to supplement them as necessary in order to fill out the record of Adams iconography. What a fortunate selection! He is not only a devoted and able amateur historian but he is, moreover, a diligent and careful student and collector of portraits. Now he has auspiciously begun Series 4 of *The Adams Papers.*

His first volume treats and reproduces "all known life portraits, busts, and silhouettes of John Adams, as well as some of the more outstanding replicas, copies, and engravings." As far as is now known, there were three dozen likenesses and unlikenesses of Adams taken from life by more than twenty artists between 1766 and 1825. About two thirds of these are preserved as originals. Of Abigail Adams about eight portraits are believed to have been taken from life by seven artists, and all are preserved. Oliver treats all these, artist by artist, more or less chronologically. Throughout the work he gives careful attention to the documentation relating to each likeness. The over-all result is a well-organized and delightful account, in words and pictures, of the physiognomy of Adams through most of his long life. It is a moving revelation of what can be wrought upon a face by time and artist.

National Advisory Commission on Libraries DANIEL J. REED

THE DOCTORS' STORY. By *Thomas Gallagher.* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1967. Pp. xix, 234. $5.95.)

Commissioned by the Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons to commemorate its two-hundredth anniversary, *The Doctors' Story* sketches the history of the college from its founding to its fusion with Columbia in 1891. The author, a novelist who, according to the jacket, has also labored at a wide assortment of tasks, from short-order cook to football coach, possesses some narrative gifts. But he does not demonstrate either the historical or the medical background to make this volume worthy of the occasion it is intended to celebrate.

Gallagher seeks to relate the development of the college to the history of New York City. But he sometimes becomes so interested in the latter for its own sake—an example is the way Christmas was celebrated in the late eighteenth century—that he includes long passages with scant relevance to his main theme. Although his text is filled with direct quotations, the author supplies no footnotes and frequently leaves the reader in doubt as to his sources. The index includes proper names but no subject headings.

Gallagher does not give a rounded picture of what medical education was like as it developed. He concentrates on the explosive and controversial aspects of the history of the college: the 1788 riot over grave robbing, the yellow-fever epidemics, the conflicts among the doctors who sought to control the school. Nor does the author possess a sure awareness of the broader medical scene within which events in the history of the college unfold. He errs with respect to which drugs were used in the late eighteenth century, gives Americans credit for inventing the old English patent medicines, and distorts facts regarding the germ theory of disease.

Sound histories of medical institutions are greatly needed. *The Doctors' Story* falls far short of meeting the standard of professional excellence that the Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons represents and deserves.

Emory University James Harvey Young

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY: FOUNDING FATHER. By *Marvin R. Zahniser.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1967. Pp. ix, 295. $7.50.)

This is the story of the long and productive career of founding father Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. Soldier, constitution maker, diplomat, and statesman—Pinckney began his services to his country in 1769 when he returned to South Carolina prepared by early training in England and on the Continent. By birth a member of the low country aristocracy, he rose quickly to a position of leadership and helped direct the colony in its movements toward revolution. As a military leader and as a constitution maker he served his state and his nation in the early days of independence. As minister to France in 1796 he reflected accurately the sentiment of the new nation in rejecting the Directory's blackmail diplomacy in the XYZ Affair. He returned to the United States a convinced Federalist, and the

bitterness of party politics in the early republic firmly cemented this former ally of Jefferson in his Federalism. He was the Federalist candidate for Vice-President in 1800 and for President in 1804 and 1808. Although unsuccessful in national politics, Pinckney prospered financially and was active in many social, political, and cultural areas until his death in 1825.

Materials concerning the intriguing and influential Pinckney family are unfortunately scarce. The society within which they operated was complex and is understood only with difficulty. As a result Mr. Zahniser fails to present an intelligible view of the South Carolina oligarchy; nor is there a clear-cut interpretation of Pinckney's character. He appears to take illogical paths that frustrate his desires for military and political greatness but that are explained only as the tortured twistings of the product of an irrational society. Pinckney was an inordinately dull man and hampers the biographer who would bring him to life.

Despite its failings, this biography does provide a long-needed summary of Pinckney's life. The available sources and secondary works have been consulted, and where there are gaps in the record the author has constructed the events as they might have happened. The volume will prove a good source for those who seek to know an epoch and its principal events in relation to one of its chief characters—Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. It is unfortunate that the book does not provide an understanding of the man.

Wake Forest University J. Edwin Hendricks

JOHN JAY, THE NATION, AND THE COURT. By *Richard B. Morris.* [The Gaspar G. Bacon Lecture on the Constitution of the United States, 1965.] (Boston: Boston University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 114. $4.75.)

Based upon the rich materials assembled under the author's direction at Columbia University by the John Jay Papers, this substantial, if compact, volume reconsiders the role of John Jay in the American Revolution and in the founding and shaping of the federal republic and argues convincingly that his reputation as "an antidemocratic elitist" and "negative and colorless chief justice" is undeserved. A more accurate view, the author contends, requires an understanding of Jay's "tight legalism" and intense nationalism, of his repeated insistence upon the importance of maintaining political stability and a strict regard for justice even in the midst of revolution, and of his determination to do everything in his power to see that the Americans took full advantage of the opportunities offered by the Revolution for improving the constitutional systems of the states and realizing the potential of the nation.

Because the American Revolution was "distinguished by its concern for . . . legality," Jay's legalism, the author points out, put him not at the far right but at the very center of the Revolution. Typical of the "conservative and legal-minded elite" who led the Revolution, Jay "took for granted that the source of all authority was the people," believed that the people should have adequate means to express their political opinions, and was unwavering in his attachment to republican government, albeit republican government that was "directed by a virtuous and educated elite" and contained powerful and effective checks upon the people at large as well as upon the several branches of government. Sharpened

by his experience in the early 1780's as commissioner to Spain, Jay's nationalism was the product of similar concerns. Dissension among the states and the political instability accompanying it, he discovered, led to humiliation abroad and, if not checked, might prevent the United States from fulfilling its promise as "one great nation." To preclude such a development and help ensure the success of the American experiment in self-government, Jay early advocated establishment of an energetic national government and as Chief Justice consistently acted to strengthen the federal government, most notably in seeking to establish "the subordination of the states to the national government in the matter of lawsuits" and the "supremacy of national treaties over state laws."

In addition to correcting older evaluations and making it clear that Jay does indeed merit "a place in the first rank of the Founding Fathers," this volume once again calls attention to the extraordinary self-confidence of those revolutionary leaders represented by Jay, the remarkable boldness their self-confidence produced, and the crucial importance of their combination of self-confidence and boldness in determining the course and ultimate character of the Revolution. Perhaps more important, it suggests, if only implicitly, that an intensive analysis of the range of personality types among the men of the Revolution and of the relationship of each type to the general process and character of the Revolution might contribute substantially to our understanding of its psychological dimensions.

Johns Hopkins University JACK P. GREENE

PRESBYTERIANS AND THE NEGRO—A HISTORY. By *Andrew E. Murray*. [Presbyterian Historical Society Publications, Number 7.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1966. Pp. xiv, 270. $6.00.)

THIS straightforward, correct survey describes the inability of American white Presbyterians to transcend the racial prejudices of their culture. Murray begins his study interestingly enough by alluding to the tension between the visible and invisible churches on racial matters, but he tends to lose the theme in anecdote and episode rather than to develop it in generalizations that could reveal its irony, tragedy, and self-delusion. A comprehensive interpretation of relations between white and black Christians may have been avoided in this study of Presbyterians and the Negro because the former appealed little to the latter, as Murray points out. Even the most dedicated southern Presbyterian missionaries such as Charles Colcock Jones could not achieve the success of the intellectually less fastidious Methodists and Baptists. In the North, Negro Presbyterians were no more numerous, and their white coreligionists made little effort to add to their number. An exception to this general white lassitude in regard to Negroes was a strain of antislavery activity that persisted among a minority of Presbyterians from the Revolution to the Civil War. Murray discusses a few of the early antislavery writers well enough, but does not explain the full extent to which prominent Presbyterians were involved in the various "abolition" societies of the Middle States from the 1790's to the War of 1812. As a denomination, the Presbyterians were never so active as the Methodists in denouncing slavery, but in the early voluntary societies they wielded power and influence far beyond their numbers. Even so, antislavery Presbyterians, like their fellow "radicals" in other denomina-

tions, were soon frustrated in their efforts to fight slavery through the Church. And Murray shows that the presumed high point of Presbyterian antislavery sentiment (the General Assembly of 1818) was created by historians who misread the evidence.

Antislavery feeling, although not a highly treasured sentiment, was kept alive by the colonization movement, a fact that Murray plays down to emphasize the "respectable racism under the cloak of benevolence," which the American Colonization Society symbolized. This and other faults were eventually realized by a few colonizationists who became abolitionists. For these last and most virulent opponents of slavery Murray has much admiration. He recounts their antics and odysseys without pronounced partisanship and certainly without apology for his denomination. (Murray is a Presbyterian minister.) Abolitionists, however, failed to win enough converts, and after the Civil War white Presbyterians were as reluctant to assimilate the Negro as they had first been to free him. Again, a small minority tried to work for and sometimes with the Negro, but not until the civil rights movement of the 1960's did the Presbyterian churches really begin to become publicly committed to full human equality. The story obviously is not a new one; it is all too familiar. Murray adds faces, names, dates, and details to what some people would call an indictment but for the author's sensible avoidance of easy moralizing.

Besides the tendency to rely upon examples rather than synthesis and analysis, the book has some unfortunate faults of craftsmanship. Murray undoubtedly has worked long and hard on his project—his bibliography and notes reveal an admirable and intimate knowledge of original sources. Yet he did not use or analyze most of the Presbyterian periodical literature; he did not use appropriate secondary works on various aspects of his problem: abolitionists, Reconstruction, the civil rights movement, race relations. In addition, he sometimes slips sentences into his story that should have been left out. He notes, for example, that in the 1850's "there was some tendency in the South to modify the Slave system." Immediately we want to know among whom this tendency was felt and to what purpose and what the nature of the modification was. But there are no helpful answers.

Murray's book, however, is not without merit. It raises implicit questions about the changing function of the church in an age of social unrest; it offers Presbyterians a dispassionate overview of their racial sins; it gives the scholar some details to work with; it shows how revivalism was not by itself a necessary cause of abolitionism; it tells how a few Presbyterians worked hard for racial equality. As usual they were too few, and not a few of them were Negroes.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill DONALD G. MATHEWS

EXPANSION AND AMERICAN INDIAN POLICY, 1783–1812. By *Reginald Horsman.* ([East Lansing:] Michigan State University Press. 1967. Pp. 209. $5.75.)

PROFESSOR Horsman's book is an elaboration and extended treatment of a theme he first propounded several years ago in the *William and Mary Quarterly* (XVIII [Jan. 1961], 35–53). He sees, essentially, an irreconcilable inconsistency between American desire for expansion across the continent and the efforts of the national

government to establish an honorable and just Indian policy. He traces this inconsistency back to the period of the new federal government. Although the first Indian policy of the new nation after the Revolution was land acquisition without remuneration from supposedly defeated Indian tribes, Indian resistance soon forced first the Continental Congress and then the federal government to pay for aboriginal "land title." Beginning in Washington's and achieving full recognition in Jefferson's administration was a coordinate goal of "civilizing" the Indians. If the Indians farmed in the white manner, they would need less land, and then white settlers could live on most of the formerly occupied land. Thus morality and expediency, expansion and honor could march triumphantly together across the continent. This neat solution to the double problem of conscience and greed was defeated by both unwillingness of the Indians, even if civilized, to sell lands, and eagerness of the whites to settle beyond guaranteed treaty boundaries. In the end, Horsman maintains, land hunger always won over national honor and fair treatment of the Indians. Thus by 1812, Horsman argues, the United States had originated the tradition of cloaking crass desire for territorial expansion beneath a mantle of high morality.

The thesis and the data in this slender book are not startlingly new. What material was not included in Horsman's four earlier articles upon these matters is generally covered in such other works as Walter Mohr's *Federal Indian Relations, 1774–1788,* Francis Prucha's *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years,* and Randolph Downes's *Council Fires on the Upper Ohio,* all of which he cites. Nor has Horsman gone beyond his predecessors in using manuscripts, as he might have, for example, by reading the Haldemand transcripts in the Public Archives of Canada. Though his thesis is not so original, he might have proven it more conclusively than previous writers, but this would have taken many more pages and a much more complicated model of analysis than Horsman employs. Lastly, I, for one, was bothered by his failure to distinguish carefully among tribes or between factions within tribes. Although the Indian side of the story may not be important to his argument, still we have reached the stage in writing about Indian-white relations of differentiating aboriginal groups more precisely than is done in this book. Such distinctions might, in fact, have aided his case as well as expanded our knowledge of the period.

This book will prove useful only to those who need a quick summary of information upon the topic without going to either Horsman's own articles or the important works he cites in his bibliography. I only wish he had devoted his well-known talents to one of the many topics relatively unexplored in the field of Indian-white relations rather than to one that is comparatively well covered.

University of Minnesota ROBERT F. BERKHOFER, JR.

GAYOSO: THE LIFE OF A SPANISH GOVERNOR IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, 1789–1799. By *Jack D. L. Holmes.* ([Baton Rouge:] Louisiana State University Press for the Louisiana Historical Association. 1965. Pp. x, 305. $7.50.)

THIS book, writes Holmes, is more than a biography of "a great man. . . . It is a story of the critical decade, 1789–1799, in the Lower Mississippi Valley." And so it

is, for Manuel Luis Gayoso de Lemos y Amorín, the first Spanish governor of the Natchez District, is the *deus ex machina* around which flow the currents of politics, economics, society, and military affairs. Facets of all of this have been written by J. W. Caughey, C. Gayarré, L. Kinnaird, and A. P. Whitaker, but Holmes is the first to come forward with a detailed history of the district during the closing years of the eighteenth century.

Gayoso assumed the office of governor of the district in 1789 after some eighteen years of a successful career in the Iberian Peninsula as an army and naval officer. Holmes pieces together the elusive facts in this period of Gayoso's life, then turns to analyze the history of the district in eight chapters, the greater part of which deals with political and military affairs. New information is presented on the functions of the syndics, the storehouse keeper (*guarda-almacén*), and the superintendent (*interventor*). Holmes also adds much to our knowledge of Gayoso as a peacemaker among the Indians, and no one should now question Gayoso's success as a diplomat, which is best illustrated by Holmes's analysis of the Indian treaties of Natchez (1792) and Nogales (1793). Also, according to Holmes, there were times when the provincial governor general, Carondelet, was saved from diplomatic blunders by the intercession of Gayoso. Then, when Gayoso was sent in 1797 to take Carondelet's position as governor general, the problems of defense and diplomacy for the entire province were well conceived and executed, despite the fact that it was difficult to obtain necessary support from Mexico and Cuba. And it is quite clear now that Gayoso was adept in his dealings with the English-speaking elements in the province. One learns, for example, that he was more tolerant of Protestants than is customarily believed.

But Holmes's contribution to the history of Louisiana does not rest entirely on his analysis of Indian affairs, diplomacy, and general problems of defense. He also provides us with a deeper insight into the economic and social life of the province than we have had before the publication of this book, though it is a bit difficult to follow his themes about such matters. He seems to have been reluctant to overlook what might be considered minor details, especially in his chapter on social life.

All must agree, however, that Holmes has made a genuine contribution to the history of Louisiana. The book is a product of careful research in the archives of Spain, Mexico, and the United States. There is an appendix on genealogy and heraldry. The bibliography deals only with manuscript sources; authors and titles of published works are to be found in the extensive footnote citations.

University of Arizona Russell C. Ewing

THE AMERICAN PARTY SYSTEMS: STAGES OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT. By *Frank J. Sorauf et al.* Edited by *William Nisbet Chambers* and *Walter Dean Burnham.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 321. Cloth $6.75, paper $2.50.)

Historians and political scientists have been considering political parties in academic circles for nearly a hundred years. The former have been most concerned with narrating the development of these organizations in time, while the latter have applied themselves to describing and analyzing contemporary partisan

institutional functioning. Nearly fifty years ago with the creation of the Social Science Research Council the idea of cooperative study was promoted, aimed at a cross-fertilization from which would come a more comprehensive and cooperative conceptualization of the problems that each discipline was considering independently.

The Social Science Research Council and its Committee on Comparative Politics together with certain interested historians eventually cooperated to produce a conference on American Political Party Development assembled at Washington University under the leadership of William Nisbet Chambers of its history department. More than a score of historians and political scientists held a retreat there in April 1966, and this volume contains twelve of the papers discussed in its sessions. Chambers and one of his colleagues in political science at Washington University were designated the editors.

Chambers has defined the central problem of this discussion as the analysis and explanation of American party development and the particular character of American politics. A correlated problem was that of uniting as far as possible in one methodology the techniques used to produce studies in institutional evolution over time and analyses of contemporary functioning. Both sides yielded something: the political scientists admitted the time factor and joined in defining stages of development going back to 1789; the historians undertook to recognize the usefulness of mathematical statistics and their formulas, of graphical presentation of analyses, and of various neologisms.

The result was a significant methodological break-through. Its general framework is the evolutionary concept that the continuous American two-party system at work since 1790 has developed in the form of "five discernible national party systems" following one another in chronological succession. These systems have rather been shaped by than have shaped the changing conditions of American society. They have been "constituent" factors in American political development. The scholars' task is to integrate the study of the evolution of political parties with the general pattern of the development of the entire American political system for they are not independent variables. Each of the twelve contributors, six historians and six political scientists, was creative and provocative, and there was a meeting of minds. My chief regret is that they did not go back far enough in time and take account of the great age and firm establishment of certain of the basic patterns of behavior involved. There are certain allusions to English factors but in my opinion not enough.

Chambers cannot be too highly praised for his enterprise in bringing this work to fruition, and we must commend both him and his associates for the vigor and penetration of their thought. The formulation of a new and original synthesis should be the next step, and further study should be given both to the suggestion in this work that the party has outlived its functional effectiveness as a constituent factor in a swiftly changing society and to the possible contrary conclusion that the basic patterns of political behavior are so ancient and well established within the American culture as to defy obsolescence. Fresh and more comprehensive study of American parties should appropriately start from these discussions, and the dialogue should be continued.

University of Pennsylvania Roy F. Nichols

"OLD BRUIN:" COMMODORE MATTHEW C. PERRY, 1794–1858. THE AMERICAN NAVAL OFFICER WHO HELPED FOUND LIBERIA, HUNTED PIRATES IN THE WEST INDIES, PRACTISED DIPLOMACY WITH THE SULTAN OF TURKEY AND THE KING OF THE TWO SICILIES; COMMANDED THE GULF SQUADRON IN THE MEXICAN WAR, PROMOTED THE STEAM NAVY AND THE SHELL GUN, AND CONDUCTED THE NAVAL EXPEDITION WHICH OPENED JAPAN. By *Samuel Eliot Morison.* (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. 1967. Pp. xxii, 482. $12.50.)

This meticulous study of one of America's outstanding naval figures reveals an often slighted crucial segment of national development. Perry's career illustrates the role of the navy in protecting and promoting American interests abroad during the first half of the nineteenth century, and the comprehensive title enumerates the major accomplishments of this man whose fame has been overshadowed by the exploits of his older brother.

Setting the stage with a graphic portrayal of late eighteenth-century Rhode Island and the exciting life of busy Newport, the author sees Midshipman Perry entering the service at a time when "Madison shared Jefferson's irrational prejudice against the navy, as did the Western and Southern blocs which then controlled Congress." Unlike the dashing Oliver, Calbraith was "methodical, serious, conscientious, bent on becoming a good officer, getting on with his fellow reefers, winning the respect of the ratings and the esteem of his superiors." His service as a junior officer in the Atlantic during the War of 1812 was undistinguished, and the author shifts to the Battle of Lake Erie to defend Oliver's role against those who asserted that Elliot was the real hero. Following the war Calbraith served in the Mediterranean and then helped found Liberia by selecting a "healthy site" to promote a movement in which he had a deep interest. Subsequent duty in the Mediterranean provided an opportunity to gain diplomatic experience in dealing with the governments of Turkey and the Two Sicilies, in the latter case employing his squadron to make a "cumulative impression" which led to a treaty settling American claims and anticipated the method he was to follow in Japan. Digressing slightly, the author presents an account of the *Somers* mutiny and concurs with the decision to hang the three mutineers.

Perry's naval career reached its zenith during the Mexican War, first as vice-commodore and later as commander of naval forces in the Gulf of Mexico. A detailed account of blockade, amphibious, and river warfare provides the most recent scholarship on naval operations during the conflict and reveals exemplary interservice cooperation in establishing beachheads and furnishing support. But much of Perry's influence on the navy lay in his espousal of reforms that he vigorously promoted while at sea and during his intermittent tours ashore. He early embraced the introduction of steam propulsion; the author considers him the "father" of the steam navy. Shell guns, ironclads, and professional education were among other changes that he urged and partially succeeded in having adopted. But he opposed the abolition of flogging and doubted the effectiveness of what he called "moral suasion" to enforce discipline. The expedition to Japan is treated fully.

In his research for this work the author followed his customary method of visiting the scene of events, and material from Japanese and Mexican sources complements domestic primary documents and papers. The narrative is sprinkled with copious quotations from the writings of Perry and other contemporaries, and Morison's affection for the sea is obvious as he depicts life in the old navy in somewhat nostalgic prose. But the central figure emerges as the epitome of a breed of naval officer that regarded seamanship as merely a part of the job. Amateur scientist, educator, and accomplished diplomat, Perry came to view the Pacific as "America's sea of destiny" and exemplified the qualities necessary to make it so.

Naval War College RAYMOND G. O'CONNOR

KINDRED SPIRITS: KNICKERBOCKER WRITERS AND AMERICAN ARTISTS, 1807–1855. By *James T. Callow*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1967. Pp. xxii, 287. $7.50.)

PROFESSOR J. T. Callow's interdisciplinary study of the mutual influence of Knickerbocker writers (such as Irving, Bryant, Cooper, and Paulding) and American artists, 1807–1855, is the most detailed and comprehensive coverage of the topic so far available. His voluminous footnotes and his forty-two pages of precise notes drawing on reviews and comments in more than a dozen contemporary magazines testify to his pioneer scholarship. He has drawn on many hitherto unused and unpublished manuscripts, and his interpretations are temperate and judicious. Emphasis is on the paintings of such men as Asher Durand, Thomas Cole, Thomas Doughty, and John Quidor, but Callow also has much to say of landscape planning, parks, and architecture. Chapter VII, "The House and Its Environs," helps to illuminate Allen Guttmann's recent concern with successive symbolic houses to illustrate his suggestive "Conservative tradition." Durand, Cole, and Doughty mostly rebelled against such earlier trends as emphasis on aristocratic portraiture, and in their major work they turned to semiromantic pictures of the indigenous American landscape. This trend is parallel to the rise of literary nationalism after the War of 1812. The painters and writers were also partially in revolt against the excesses of the Greek and the Gothic revivals; they were pioneers in functionalism and in the employment of the associational psychology involved with the use of historic places designed to arouse genuine if lofty emotions, often tinged with religious awe.

Much new detail is provided regarding the personal associations of such artists and writers as S. F. B. Morse and Cooper, Cole and Bryant, Greenough and Willis. Callow elaborates on the ways in which the artists served the writers and influenced their works; such concern is balanced by the study of the writers' services to the artists. Irving provided Quidor with more than a dozen scenes for his paintings, as did Cooper for F. O. C. Darley. Verplanck's strategic position in Congress enabled him to secure commissions for Durand's engraving of "The Signing of the Declaration of Independence" and for Greenough's statue of Washington for the Capitol. Perhaps a bit more might have been done with political orientation or the implications of it.

In general the book helps to impress the reader with the extent to which, before writers such as Emerson and Hawthorne emphasized inwardness and "the interior of a heart" given to introspection, the literature of the Knickerbocker era was concerned with the surfaces of life symmetrically ordered that aroused pictorial interest. Callow is to be congratulated on a scholarly, polished, readable, and nicely illustrated study.

University of Wisconsin HARRY HAYDEN CLARK

ADVENTURE AT ASTORIA, 1810–1814. By *Gabriel Franchère.* Translated and edited by *Hoyt C. Franchère.* [The American Exploration and Travel Series, Volume LIII.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xxxix, 190. $5.95.)

IN 1808 John Jacob Astor incorporated the American Fur Company and projected a bold plan to capture the Far West fur trade by founding a depot at the mouth of the Columbia River. Failing to win over his Canadian rivals, Astor nonetheless engaged several experienced men of the North West Company and formed the Pacific Fur Company in 1810. To invade the Pacific Northwest, Astor organized both a sea expedition and an overland expedition. Gabriel Franchère of Montreal was one of the Astorians sailing from New York with the maritime party aboard the *Tonquin.* On the westward voyage the ship stopped at the Falkland Islands and Hawaii before reaching the Columbia. Franchère escaped the *Tonquin*'s tragic sinking off Vancouver Island because he was left behind to build a trading post and negotiate with the Indians. When Astoria was sold to the British in 1814, Franchère returned overland on a hazardous trip to Montreal.

Between 1810 and 1814, Franchère wrote a diary of his adventures and observations. In 1819 he expanded his record into a journal that was published in French the next year. An English edition of 1854, partly inspired by Senator Thomas Hart Benton's interest, both added and deleted data. Franchère, an eyewitness, also refuted what he considered flaws in Washington Irving's *Astoria.*

The present book is a new translation by a great-grandson of the narrator with a careful collation of the original manuscript and the French and English editions. The editor's splendid introduction explains his methodology, evaluates other sources, presents biographical data about Franchère, and assesses the Astoria venture. In skillful footnotes the editor makes pertinent annotations and compares Franchère's record with those written by two other Astorians, Ross Cox and Alexander Ross. Besides being a historically significant account of the Oregon Country, the book has value for its descriptions of Hawaii, various Indian tribes, northwestern forts, and several aspects of the War of 1812 occurring in the Pacific and Canada. Though a simple chronicle of events, it was written with deep human understanding. The book is superbly edited, generously illustrated, and adequately indexed.

San Jose State College BENJAMIN F. GILBERT

THEATER IN THE ANTE BELLUM SOUTH, 1815–1861. By *James H. Dormon, Jr.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 322. $8.00.)

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the theater provided Americans with cultural entertainment of a relatively high order. Compared with the average movie of today, the plays seen by colonial Americans and Americans on the ever-moving frontier were superior in intellectual content. Shakespeare, for example, was a reliable staple of dramatic fare from the beginning of theatrical history in America.

The present volume chronicles the development and flowering of theatrical entertainment in the South before the Civil War. It is a worthy companion to another work on the history of the theater, Hugh F. Rankin's *The Theater in Colonial America* (1965). Both of these excellent studies, expansions of doctoral theses, are proof that research of this type need not be dull and that many fields of genuine importance remain to be investigated. These contributions to social and intellectual history provide fresh and new information of value. For one who has spent much time contemplating the dust from the beating of old straw, particularly the flailings of students of English literature, it is refreshing to come upon studies that have meaning and substance.

In an introductory chapter, Dormon gives a summary of theatrical conditions in the colonial period with special emphasis upon the southern colonies. Concentrating upon the period 1815–1865, he ranges widely and does not confine himself entirely to the Old South. Chapters III and IV, for example, deal with theatrical performances in the lower Mississippi Valley, with considerable attention to St. Louis. Since no towns, not even New Orleans and Charleston, were sufficiently large to support permanent acting companies, the theaters of the South depended upon traveling companies. After a run in the principal towns, itinerant actors took to the road and performed in such makeshift theaters as they might find; when regular playhouses were lacking, they utilized schoolhouses, town halls, and sometimes even vacant warehouses and barns.

The repertory of these companies was surprisingly varied and good. With Shakespeare as an unfailing base, they added popular plays from the more recent London stage. The quality of acting was also frequently of a high order. Many actors and actresses of distinction were seen in such out-of-the-way places as Franklin, Tennessee, Tuscumbia, Alabama, and Opelousas, Louisiana. English companies as well as native American groups of players toured the back country. One of the most notable of the American touring companies was that managed by Solomon Franklin Smith, better known as Sol Smith. The two published volumes of his memoirs, plus unpublished letters and diaries in the Missouri Historical Society and the Harvard College Library, provide a remarkable (and highly entertaining) insight into life on the southern and southwestern circuits in the period 1829–1853.

Plays and players made a significant contribution to the intellectual growth of provincial Americans, in the South and elsewhere. "The widespread existence of amateur theatrical companies, even in isolated rural communities, points to a people who believed the theater to be a normal, desirable form of entertainment

and recreation," the author points out. These amateur actors were inspired by traveling companies that visited their communities. Smith's company was pestered by would-be actors seeking stage careers and would-be playwrights eager to have their drama produced. The theater was a vital influence in the first half of the nineteenth century. Dormon has made a useful contribution to social and intellectual history. Other students will find his discriminating bibliography helpful in making further explorations in this field.

Folger Shakespeare Library LOUIS B. WRIGHT

THE PAPERS OF JOHN C. CALHOUN. Volume III, 1818–1819. Edited by *W. Edwin Hemphill.* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press for the South Caroliniana Society. 1967. Pp. xxxiii, 772. $10.00.)

THE third volume of *The Papers of John C. Calhoun,* like the second, covers a mere eight months of his service as Secretary of War (the months embraced in this volume being August 1818–March 1819). At this rate, therefore, we may expect a total of twelve volumes dealing with the eight years of his service in the War Department alone. This would be a welcome prospect if the documents printed in Volumes II and III gave us fresh or valuable information about the policies of Monroe's administration, or about Calhoun's character and private life, or about his thoughts on public issues and needs, or about the activities of his friends and associates. Unfortunately this is not the case. Most of the approximately three thousand documents printed or summarized in this volume deal with routine matters: inquiries about pensions, requests for appointments to West Point, expenditures and supplies for the army, dealings with the Indian tribes, reports to Congress, preparations for Major Stephen Long's intended explorations of the Rocky Mountains. Altogether these documents reveal that Calhoun was an industrious and systematic administrator and that his grasp on the affairs of his department was firm. Yet it all makes dull reading, despite an occasional flash of fire provided by such items as General Winfield Scott's three exasperated letters of early 1819 seeking (in vain) the War Department's permission to make public an angry correspondence he had had in 1818 with Andrew Jackson and parts of which Jackson had showed to his friends to discredit Scott.

Like Volume II, this one has no footnotes, and the explanation accompanying each document is usually limited to making known the location of the original. A twenty-six-page introduction to the volume provides an excellent summary of the main events covered.

Emory University JAMES RABUN

THE PAPERS OF ANDREW JOHNSON. Volume I, 1822–1851. Editors, *LeRoy P. Graf* and *Ralph W. Haskins.* Editorial Associates, *Harry T. Burn, Jr.,* and *Patricia P. Clark.* [Sponsored by the University of Tennessee, the National Historical Publications Commission, the Tennessee Historical Commission.] (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1967. Pp. xliv, 700. $15.00.)

THIS, the first of ten volumes of *The Papers of Andrew Johnson,* covers the first forty-three years of the seventeenth President's life. Born in 1808 in Raleigh,

North Carolina, Johnson was apprenticed to a tailor. In 1826 he moved to Greeneville, Tennessee. In the following years he married, fathered five children, founded a successful business, and began his political career. Successively, he became an alderman, mayor, state legislator, and a United States congressman during the period covered by this volume.

Since Johnson became literate relatively late, only 95 extant letters of consequence were written by him through 1851. These are reprinted along with 127 from others to him. This paucity of Johnson materials can partly be explained because many of his personal papers were destroyed during the Civil War. Among his correspondents were James K. Polk, William L. Marcy, and Horace Greeley.

The two principal editors of this work, from the University of Tennessee history department, have zealously tracked down surviving Johnson correspondence from sources as geographically scattered as the Huntington Library and the Massachusetts Historical Society. Johnson's more important speeches are also reprinted. The materials disclose a fact that Johnson's biographers usually miss: that he was not always a Democrat. In the mid-thirties Johnson supported Hugh L. White for President against Martin Van Buren. Johnson's defeat in 1837, partly as a result of this stand, convinced him to become a regular Democrat until the Civil War. The editors have excluded from this collection only material of the most routine nature. Even then at least one example from them is reprinted in full. Other items that do not deserve full inclusion, but that help to depict Johnson's personality, are calendared with a brief statement of their contents. Personages mentioned in the letters are carefully identified, and the sources of all items included are clearly indicated. In letters the correspondents' spelling is faithfully reproduced except where it might cause confusion. Then additional letters, words, or *sic* are employed to clarify the language. The original punctuation is also retained except for the use of bracketed periods.

This first volume of *The Papers of Andrew Johnson* meets the highest canons of scholarship. We have been provided with an excellent research tool for Johnson's early years.

Nevada Southern University Ralph J. Roske

THE STATE, THE INVESTOR, AND THE RAILROAD: THE BOSTON & ALBANY, 1825–1867. By *Stephen Salsbury*. [Publication of the Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America, Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xx, 404. $10.00.)

It has long been assumed that, given the well-known nineteenth-century rivalry among Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore for western trade, the Boston & Albany was built primarily to tap such traffic. Now, in a deftly told account based solidly on the voluminous sources in Harvard's Baker Library, Stephen Salsbury demonstrates that it was, rather, the determination and dollars of Boston and Springfield business leaders that opened the state's interior to industrialism by completing the through rail line by 1841.

Salsbury does far more than establish this reinterpretation. He shows, for example, why the intense regional rivalries of the day prevented any state aid

at the outset; the Boston & Worcester, incorporated in 1831, had to be content with a liberal charter giving private investors a thirty-year monopoly of their area and a virtually free hand to fix routes, operations, and rates. Improvising brilliantly as they went along, these backers of the B&W began service in 1834 and linked their terminal cities the next year. They obtained, meanwhile, a similar charter for a road from Worcester to the state line, the Western. Building over rugged hill country in a rather sparsely settled region, however, posed novel challenges. Thereupon the doughty industrialists of Boston and Springfield parlayed the ever more convincing record of the B&W into a successful bid for state aid to the Western. Beginning in 1836, and contingent throughout on simultaneous private participation, that aid eventually amounted to two-thirds of the total cost. Albany meanwhile helped finance the final western link completed in 1841. By the latter part of that decade the Western was financially secure, and eventually every penny of government aid was repaid.

This is but part of the tale. For a whole generation the older and stronger B&W bickered with the Western over rate divisions; harmony was attained only when outside competition forced merger in 1867. Salsbury unravels the intricacies of this and other developments with refreshing lucidity. Nor does he neglect the fascinating story of technical and administrative innovation: the commuting regime of the B&W, for example, inaugurated a whole new way of living, whereas the fact that the Western was—briefly—the nation's longest line called for entirely new techniques for control and safety.

This is a thoughtful book, meticulously documented. It is also exciting, written with contagious enthusiasm. And it is significant in pinpointing the many areas in which the Boston & Albany line was, in truth, a pioneering venture.

University of Western Ontario Richard C. Overton

THE HICKSITE SEPARATION: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF RELIGIOUS SCHISM IN EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICA. By *Robert W. Doherty.* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1967. Pp. vii, 157. $7.50.)

In 1827 and 1828 the Religious Society of Friends in Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois separated into two bodies: Orthodox and Hicksite. The separation lasted more than a hundred years and even now is not wholly healed. Quaker historians have not written much about this schism. Hitherto, the fullest modern treatment has been Rufus M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism* (1921). Jones saw the Hicksite position as a mysticism that was traditionally Quaker in its sources but also somewhat modern in its implications, and he saw Orthodoxy as resulting from an admixture of an alien evangelicalism into simple, nondoctrinal Quakerism. Jones hinted at the possibility of a sociological interpretation when he pointed out that Hicksism predominated in the rural meetings and Orthodoxy in the urban ones, but he left the matter with this hint.

Robert Doherty in this book frankly sets about to analyze the separation primarily in terms of the social status of its participants. In other words, his sources are historians' sources—wills, mortgages, census returns, poor tax records,

meeting records, contemporary journals, letters, and books—but his models and guides are the works of sociologists—Troeltsch, Yinger, Liston Pope, Robert K. Merton.

Using the "functional" approach of the sociologist, he does something that no previous historian to my knowledge has ever done: he collects information about as many of the individual Quakers on one side or the other as he can. Most of this information must naturally come from courthouse records and have to do with the individual's worldly goods rather than his religious ideas. But this is what Doherty is looking for. He arranges the data in many tables, showing the wealth, the occupation, the place of residence, the value and size of farms, the number of cattle, the size of mortgages, and so on of many Orthodox and Hicksite Friends. When he computes his data, he finds that on the whole the Orthodox in Philadelphia outnumbered the Hicksites and were better off. In the country around Philadelphia he finds the Hicksites in the majority. From the fact that the Hicksites in general were less prosperous, he assumes among them a degree of estrangement, alienation from the world around them. He draws other conclusions from his data, and all of them tend to fortify his general supposition that the Orthodox represented the church-type and the Hicksites the sect-type, as developed by Troeltsch.

His final chapter is called "Some Conclusions." One would expect it to be a summary of the results of his research, but he scarcely mentions his own conclusions. He takes, rather, his study as a sample of what can be done by the method of "collective biography." It brings in, for example, "persons . . . who would normally be excluded from most historical research." He says, moreover, that his method "provides fruitful insights into relationships between religion and social change." And he admits that the "functional view" does not provide *the* answer to any historical question. He calls for more historical studies involving sociological methods; his book justifies his plea. It is not the definitive answer to questions about the Hicksite separation, but it adds much to our understanding of it.

Swarthmore College FREDERICK B. TOLLES

THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN JOURNALS OF WILLIAM MARSHALL ANDERSON: THE WEST IN 1834. Edited by *Dale L. Morgan* and *Eleanor Towles Harris*. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1967. Pp. 430. $12.50.)

DURING the 1820's and 1830's a number of government and privately sponsored expeditions crossed the country that stretches from the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains. Their findings have come to us in official reports, personal accounts, and memoirs written in later years. Frequently notes jotted down along the way are sketchy, sometimes contradictory, and not always highly informative. William Marshall Anderson, who accompanied William Sublette's party westward in 1834, not only provided us with what Dale Morgan calls "the sole known account of Sublette's party en route to the mountains," but he offered much more in the way of information than the traditional mention of mileage and weather. The observer had an opportunity to study the fur business firsthand and to re-

port upon the details of a rendezvous. He witnessed the founding of Fort Laramie and was present when Fitzpatrick, Sublette, and Bridger merged their enterprise with that of Fontenelle and Drips.

The editors of Anderson's account had to deal with two documents: a trail diary and an expanded diary, written after Anderson had returned to Kentucky, now referred to as the "Journal." The latter is, of course, bette rwritten and supplied with explanatory details merely mentioned in the diary itself. Rather than present the documents end to end, the editors have placed them side by side, on facing pages. They admit that the method is not usual—referring to it as a pioneer approach—but they felt that the method would allow students to make comparisons between the two accounts with less difficulty. This is true, provided the work was intended primarily for students. Those who want to read the material for pleasure or for general background information will find the arrangement less useful. Students of the fur trade will be interested in a series of biographical sketches, nearly 150 pages in length, placed at the end of the work. Some of the subjects treated are fairly well known, others much less so.

Anderson's journals are an important addition to the field. The package in which they are now placed before us is a rich one, resembling a gem mounted in a finely detailed and tastefully executed setting. A useful introduction and a brief biography of Anderson provide additional depth. The word "Morgan" on the product denotes, of course, the academic world's Good Housekeeping seal of approval.

University of Colorado Robert G. Athearn

WILDERNESS KINGDOM. INDIAN LIFE IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS: 1840–1847. THE JOURNALS AND PAINTINGS OF NICOLAS POINT, S.J. Translated and introduced by *Joseph P. Donnelly, S.J.* With an appreciation by *John C. Ewers.* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1967. Pp. xiii, 274. $21.95.)

This beautiful volume of folio size makes available, in English translation, the illustrated journals of a French Jesuit who accompanied Father Pierre De Smet from Westport, Missouri, to the Rocky Mountains in 1841. After helping establish St. Mary's Mission in the Bitterroot Valley, thirty miles from Missoula, Montana, Father Nicolas Point spent six years evangelizing the Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, and Blackfoot tribes. He was the first priest among the Piegan Blackfeet and the only one to accompany the Flatheads on a buffalo hunt. Although his purpose was religious instruction, the experience afforded an opportunity to observe the behavior of these tribesmen while on their winter and summer hunts. Both the techniques and the spirit of pursuing highly prized game are recorded in prose and in paint.

The publication of these journals with an introduction, written by Point in the 1860's, will be of interest to the anthropologist as well as to the historian. For these tribes the 1840's was a period of transition. Other than the use of horses and some articles acquired from traders, they had not felt the influence of white men's culture when the missionaries arrived. Point described the traits

of these Indians in terms that dispel any romantic notions of their primitive existence.

It is apparent that Catholic missionaries were influential in modifying tribal customs, especially those with barbaric features, and that they were instrumental in bringing about better relations between the Flatheads and the Blackfeet. Point was interested in civilizing Indians and considered instruction in Catholic Christianity and in agriculture the best means; this purpose was, of course, subordinate to the saving of souls. He referred to the difficulty of teaching Christianity to those who had been half civilized by Protestants and considered all non-Catholic Indians under an evil influence. Mostly the competition for Indian minds came from medicine men who claimed spiritual powers capable of performing miracles, healing the sick, or of bringing game to the hunters. Therefore, the priest's exultation was evident when, in response to prayers and the use of sacred objects, the desperately ill recovered and when the hunters procured game in abundance. The journals reveal at least as much about the religious orientation and fervor of Point as they do about the Indians.

Approximately 280 paintings have been reproduced, all but 50 of them in color. In addition there are several colored maps and nearly a dozen primitive sketches done mostly by Blackfeet in 1846–1847 when the priest was at Fort Lewis. These represent a break in the tradition of drawing on buffalo robes and indicate the adoption of white men's dress. Point's miniatures are of four types: scenes along the Missouri River and in the Rocky Mountains; scenes that portray Indian activities, dwellings, furnishings, implements, and apparel; portraits of tribesmen, their trader, and interpreter; paintings that express religious themes in relation to missionary work among the Indians or en route to the wilderness. As an artist Point was untrained and made use of primary pigments to achieve a religious expressionism. His draftsmanship, composition, and perspective do not compare well with such professionals as Karl Bodmer and George Catlin. It must be emphasized, however, that the purpose of his art was not so much aesthetic as it was documentary and functional.

The "appreciation" by Mr. Ewers is valuable for an appraisal of both the journals and the paintings. Father Donnelly's introduction is distinguished for an explanation of Point's itinerary in Europe, the United States, and Canada. The editing deserves praise. Informative notes are found at the end of the volume; an appendix provides a history of the manuscript and difficulties of publication. The original is in the archives of the *Collège Sainte-Marie* at Montreal.

St. Olaf College HENRY E. FRITZ

CLIO'S SERVANT: THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN, 1846–1954. By *Clifford L. Lord* and *Carl Ubbelohde*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1967. Pp. x, 598. $10.00.)

THE State Historical Society of Wisconsin has deservedly been recognized for a century as a specialized type of scholarly institution with few peers. In recent decades it has been looked to as something of a model by other state and local historical societies that have sought to emulate its aggressive efforts to "bring history to the people." The society has also constituted a distinctive resource for

the University of Wisconsin, providing students and mature scholars with exceptional collections in American history. To the people of Wisconsin the "Grand Old Lady of State Street" has been a source of pride and a potent stimulus to historical interest among all age groups.

Organized in 1846, two years before statehood, the society made little progress until Lyman C. Draper arrived on the scene in 1853. This zealous, indefatigable collector and promoter succeeded during his thirty-five-year career in building one of the major historical libraries in the nation. Even more talented and effective was his successor, Reuben Gold Thwaites, who combined the instincts of a scholar with a genius for administration and academic statesmanship. In his era the society developed a cordial and productive relationship with the university, enhanced its prestige as a center of scholarship, and acquired popular and legislative support. This brilliant era ended with Thwaites's death in 1913, and for nearly three decades the society faltered under weak management. Then, during Edward P. Alexander's brief but decisive administration, the role of the society was radically redefined, and a "popular type" program was instituted. This new dimension of the society was immeasurably extended by Clifford L. Lord, who succeeded in giving the society an identity independent of the university and extending the influence of the society into every part of the state. By 1955, when this history ends, Wisconsin had become a multipurpose society serving every conceivable constituency and embracing functions as diverse as those of any comparable agency.

This bulky and excessively detailed narrative will hardly commend itself to the casual reader, for it is essentially an administrative history and as such is intended to constitute a definitive record for those who have been, or may become, closely involved with the society. It leaves many questions unanswered, perhaps the chief of which would involve evaluations of the society's impact on the people of Wisconsin, on the university, and on the larger world of historical scholarship.

Rutgers University RICHARD P. MCCORMICK

JAMES W. MARSHALL, THE DISCOVERER OF CALIFORNIA GOLD: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Theressa Gay*. (Georgetown, Calif.: Talisman Press. 1967. Pp. 558. $10.00.)

THIS oversize book is neither orthodox history nor biography. The author's enthusiasm and tenacity strike the reader at once. Less commendable are tendencies toward adulation of subject, antiquarianism, manufactured imagery, and the insertion of conversations that professional historians would want more closely documented. In 1848 Marshall was an obscure carpenter who, quite by chance, discovered gold along the banks of the American River. He did so while in the employ of Johann Augustus Sutter, the Swiss impresario who built a trading post and fort at New Helvetia, today's Sacramento. After the discovery, Marshall became a California hero. Had he also become a prime mover and shaper of the new state's future society, this book would fill a greater void than it does. History need not be written only about great men, but one may justly question whether a volume devoted to so local a figure might not have

been slimmed. Yet, almost all biographies throw undeniable side lights upon the social history of an epoch; this is sometimes their most redeeming feature.

Marshall was born in New Jersey; his life reflected the internal movement of the American people. He traveled to Ohio, Illinois, Nebraska, and Oregon before he reached California. He saw service during the Mexican War in the California Battalion. After the war he went to work for Sutter. The California gold mania was to bring Marshall, like Sutter, relatively limited material satisfactions. Upon his death in 1885 Marshall left behind an estate slightly in excess of five hundred dollars.

To cast Marshall in the role of a major figure, as does the author, is to misjudge the importance of the individual in history. Thirty years of painstaking work, nevertheless, went into her book. This devotion cannot fairly go unnoticed nor can the fact that little was heretofore known about Marshall. Now, revelation both of his personality and of the details of his life has replaced folklore and mythology. Clear writing and an indefatigable search for sources, nationally as well as locally, are obvious. In places the torrent of facts concerning Marshall is channeled rewardingly, and with worthwhile thoroughness. In recounting the history that deals only tangentially with her main subject the author could have profited from the services of a first-rate editor. One encounters repeatedly sections of the book that ought to have been eliminated. Though the book may seem cumbersome, it is not a work of superficial popularization of the sort that the press is wont to praise, especially in California. Finally, while the notes are more than extensive, there is no bibliography.

Occidental College ANDREW ROLLE

FRONTIERSMEN IN BLUE: THE UNITED STATES ARMY AND THE INDIAN, 1848–1865. By *Robert M. Utley*. [The Wars of the United States.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. xv, 384. $9.95.)

THE Regular Army played a decisive role in the development and settlement of the trans-Mississippi West between 1848 and 1865. Military units, for the most part in garrison before the Mexican War, were in the field after 1848 exploring and mapping the western territory, improving travel and communication, protecting emigrant trains, and pacifying hostile tribes. The focus of this book is the army's Indian campaigns during the period 1848–1865. Cavalry and infantry ranged from the Great Plains to the Pacific shore attempting "to perfect a scheme for managing the Indians that balanced the requirements of national expansion against those of humanity to an alien minority destined for subjugation."

Two intriguing features of the book are the anomaly of congressional expectations and penuriousness and the folly of applying formal military tactics in the Indian campaigns. Congress expected the small Regular Army to accomplish a vast assignment with limited appropriations; it also encouraged the use of volunteer groups to fight Indians as "a mechanism for funneling federal money into the pockets of a community's citizens." Congressional parsimony made it necessary for troops to spend valuable military time gathering forage, building posts and roads, raising food, and herding livestock. Congress reduced the army's mobility, too, for it found it cheaper to keep an infantry regiment in the field at

$200,000.00 a year than a cavalry regiment at $500,000.00, in spite of the counsel of experts that "only mounted troops could fight Indians with any hope of success." The author feels that Congress "declined to pay the price of Manifest Destiny," and the Regular Army was "inadequate for the Indian wars."

Utley points out that the army was not without fault in its attempt to pacify the West. Infantry and cavalry tactics and textbooks "concerned themselves exclusively with conventional warfare against a civilized foe. Officers and men were left to learn for themselves to conduct operations against their primitive foe." Infantry and cavalry provided official presence of United States dominion, but from the vast catalogue of engagements one is impressed that the mounted Indian warrior was a superior tactician, and the only way that cavalry and infantry units, pinned down by sweeping Indian columns, could fight their way out was with the reliable twelve-pounder mountain howitzer charged with canister.

Frontiersmen in Blue contains excellent maps and a strong bibliography, although its comprehensive quality would be enhanced by spelling out in detail the manuscript sources. This work's faults and flaws are minimal in view of its scope. One of its several impressive features is the author's talent for drawing from the indispensable detail of campaigns those significant trends in frontier military policy. Certainly Utley has applied creative management to a great mass of military minutiae and given it a meaningful, readable format.

University of Oklahoma ARRELL M. GIBSON

ECONOMIC CHANGE IN THE CIVIL WAR ERA: PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE ON AMERICAN ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE, 1850–1873, AND THE IMPACT OF THE CIVIL WAR, HELD MARCH 12–14, 1964. Edited by *David T. Gilchrist* and *W. David Lewis*. (Greenville, Del.: Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation; distrib. by University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville. 1965. Pp. ix, 180. $2.45.)

THIS volume is a more or less verbatim report of a conference sponsored by the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation in spring 1964, organized "to explore the hypothesis that significant changes may have occurred in the institutional framework of economic life during the War years which resulted in the high rate of growth in the postwar decade." Speakers talked informally from notes as did the commentator for each session; discussion followed. Since even historians do not talk with footnotes and do occasionally in oral discourse produce convoluted sentences, skillful editing is apparent. Even so, most presentations emerge refreshingly simple and direct as compared with formal papers read at conventions. Papers and discussions were somewhat more structured than coffee break conversation, but the conference retained much of the flavor of that institution.

George Rogers Taylor surveyed the scene with "The National Economy before and after the Civil War." Robert Sharkey talked on commercial banking, Harry Pierce on foreign investments, Morton Rothstein on markets for agricultural commodity exports, Louis Hartz on the relations of government and business, A. Hunter Dupree on science and technology, and Alfred Chandler on the organization of manufacturing and transportation. Distinguished speakers

deserved competent critics. Such were provided: Fritz Redlich, Vincent P. Carosso, William N. Parker, Daniel J. Elazar, Robert V. Bruce, and Arthur M. Johnson.

The audience responded with polite questions and comments. Thomas C. Cochran, whose now-famous article in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* "Did the Civil War Retard Industrialization?" was the "inspiration" for the conference, suggested that foreign trade may actually retard industrialization; Stephen M. Salsbury indicated reservations; Hugh G. J. Aitken mentioned the Canadian experience; and James P. Baughman expressed some interest in periodicals. Speakers and conferees were selected, for the most part, because of their "specialized interest in the history of institutions closely related to economic life"; the quantitative approach was deliberately avoided. The sanity of the discussions was thereby preserved; differences were pleasantly and calmly examined; no one shouted, "but you are not asking the right questions." It might not have been as productive, but it might have been more fun to have had Robert Fogel, Douglass North, Alfred Conrad, and Ralph Andreano in the audience.

Harold F. Williamson, general chairman for the meeting, offered a summation that is as satisfactory for book as for conference: "not all participants were prepared to accept the preponderant interpretation of the principal speakers that aside from commercial banking, the Civil War appears not to have started or created any significant new patterns of economic institutional change."

University of Montana Robert L. Peterson

THE CONQUEST OF APACHERIA. By *Dan L. Thrapp.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 405. $6.95.)

Few Indians surpass the Apache in their reputation for ferocity, and for expertness at the type of guerrilla warfare they waged against the whites. This reputation emerges intact from Thrapp's broad, if not always deep, survey of their last quarter century of warfare.

After a glance backward, the author begins his narrative of the Apache wars with the early 1860's and follows them through to the final surrender and imprisonment of Geronimo. Like Chatto, Loco, Nachez, and the other Apache leaders, Geronimo seldom commanded more than a few dozen warriors. The speed with which they moved and the terror and confusion they left in their wake have made it extremely difficult to determine what bands were involved and reconstruct their movements, much less their objectives at particular times. It is possible, with some accuracy, to trace troop movements and to record the reactions of the white population, but the Apache side of the wars still eludes us.

Thrapp seems unable to decide on whom to affix the blame. While he recognizes the provocation provided by a system of bounties for Apache scalps, and by the inconsistent policies of the government, Thrapp can speak of these people fighting for their survival against overwhelming odds as "harsh, cruel, and pitiless." From the same viewpoint he can describe an Apache war party as "filled to overflowing with the thirst to murder"—a most unusual metaphor—and allude to Victorio as "a toddler barely old enough to learn the delights of torturing . . . small birds and animals." Indeed, in his anxiety to sustain the reader's interest with vivid writing,

Thrapp sometimes outdoes himself. One reads, for example, that "a solid wall of water tore down the arroyo, irresistible in its force, inescapable in its mad rush," only to learn that three troopers caught in the torrent were not even swept off their feet.

Despite some stylistic shortcomings, this coverage of the Apache wars is the best to date. Thrapp's earlier work on Al Sieber, a scout in these campaigns, acquainted him with the general subject, and he has consulted all of the principal sources. He does not appear, however, to have exploited them completely, and he seems to prefer dubious newspaper accounts and reminiscences recorded many years after the event to the contemporary accounts now available in the manuscript files of the National Archives. In short, this could have been a better book had Thrapp chosen to devote more time to the research, and a scholarly account of the Apache wars is still needed.

State University College, Fredonia, New York WILLIAM T. HAGAN

ARMY OF THE HEARTLAND: THE ARMY OF TENNESSEE, 1861–1862. By *Thomas Lawrence Connelly.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 305. $8.50.)

IT has always been obvious that the effort of the Confederacy to defend its independence met with least success in the region between the Appalachian divide and the Mississippi River; the record of this particular theater is, from the Confederate viewpoint, one of unseized opportunities, frustrated aspirations, and simple defeat. Here there never would be a southern victory that required no qualification.

The reasons have been subjected, from the war period onward, to an intricate commentary. Attention has been directed to the peculiar natural geography —the distinctive relief, the unusual rivers, the uneven fertility—and note has been taken of its inconsistency with any frontier, political or military, the Confederates could visualize. Every major critique abounds in bad roads and inadequate railways. But the favorite object of dissection has been the Confederate Army, or association of armies, committed to the region's defense, that military complex (the word is appropriate) which in the interests of simplicity is usually called the Army of Tennessee. Scrutiny has been concentrated in particular upon its commanders, and from a time when the army still operated in the field, a flood of memorabilia—some self-serving, most personal, none quite impartial—issued from the pens of those concerned. The digestion that followed was even more laborious, but it achieved, a quarter century ago, a distinctive literary felicity in Stanley F. Horn's *Army of Tennessee,* a work that also perfected a principal villain, Lieutenant General Braxton Bragg.

Professor Connelly now attempts to rewrite Horn. We may be happy that he has undertaken to do so. He undoubtedly fails to match his predecessor's stylistic quality. But it is in certain other respects a superior history. It is based upon a broader, better-disciplined research, and the conclusions reached, though less easy to assimilate, are the issue of a more judicious reasoning. If the results have been thus far a little muddy, that is hardly Connelly's fault; no parcel of the

American Civil War was muddier—in terms of terrain or of controversy—than this one.

The author has emerged, moreover, with two fairly precise theses. One is the concept of a Confederate heartland, not an original idea, of course, yet greatly and refreshingly expanded from the traditional "Crossroads-Atlanta." The other, perhaps a more authentic contribution, is the suggestion that all the principal commanders of this army were, during its formative period, almost equally bad. Primary culprit Bragg has been upgraded to a level somewhat beneath mediocrity; the others, Polk, Albert Sidney Johnston, Beauregard, and Kirby Smith, have been downgraded to match. No one, implies Connelly, was of clear competence to command a unit larger than a division. Indeed, the reader finds it hard to believe that an army of major consequence could be made to undergo such leadership for so long, yet the data are amply documented on the primary level.

Connelly's efforts must therefore be regarded as important. One suspects they will supply the standard notions as to this particular theater of military history for a long time to come.

Temple Buell College ROBERT C. BLACK III

MENNONITES IN THE CONFEDERACY: A STUDY IN CIVIL WAR PACIFISM. By *Samuel Horst.* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press. 1967. Pp. 148. $3.00.)

FROM Confederate and Mennonite records, and from contemporary letters and narratives, Professor Horst has reconstructed, to the extent to which the surviving sources permit, the story of how a pacifist, pro-Union, antislavery group in the South coped with the moral problems caused by the Civil War. Some Mennonites entered military service reluctantly, intending not to shoot; Stonewall Jackson ordered these men assigned to noncombatant duties. Others attempted to escape from the South with the aid of an "underground railroad," which also provided a mail service to facilitate communication between the escapees and their families; Horst narrates in some detail the story of two such groups. The first conscription laws provided no exemption for conscientious objectors, and even when the statutes were changed to recognize the rights of specified religious bodies, the members could never be sure whether the exemption would continue in force. Although the Mennonites were in fact safe from the draft after October 1862, many of them were molested. Their horses were pressed into service; civil officials collected more than the lawful 10 per cent of their produce; and the press was hostile. One notable elder, John Kline, suffered repeated arrest and eventually was murdered. Notwithstanding their small number, which was further decimated by escapes from Confederate territory, and in spite of oppression, the Mennonites remained true to their beliefs. Horst pays them and their courageous Bishop Samuel Coffman a well-deserved tribute.

The book is excellently documented, but the footnotes are in the wrong place. Admittedly the outgrowth of a master's essay at American University, this volume should find recognition in the monographic literature of the Civil War period.

Gambier, Ohio EMIL OBERHOLZER

THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU IN SOUTH CAROLINA, 1865–1872. By *Martin Abbott.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 162. $5.00.)

This valuable study is free of the bias and cynicism that marred many earlier histories of the Freedmen's Bureau, attitudes that probably still warp popular conceptions of that agency's work. Although Mr. Abbott focuses on the Negro and his plight and aspirations during Reconstruction, rather than on white officials and white planters, his emphasis is always on human situations and not on race as such. His approach—a sensible one that more historians of Reconstruction might follow—is to assess the enormous need for postwar social and economic adjustment and then to measure accomplishment against that standard. He describes the bureau's work in administering relief in South Carolina, in education, in establishing economic stability, and in promoting "general welfare," all of which helped give meaning to freedom for the Negro. Yet the bureau's efforts in each of these areas were inadequate, the author finds, because it was constantly handicapped by having too little money and too few agents.

Abbott does not criticize the bureau for meddling in politics and for corruption, the usual charges, but for doing too little within its legitimate sphere. The bureau's failure to achieve more was hardly the fault of its personnel, he writes. Instead, guilt lay with government and the controlling majority: "the President lacked the concern, the Congress lacked the courage, and the nation lacked the conviction" to take that comprehensive action which alone might have saved the freedmen, and hence the nation, from much consequent travail. In particular the government erred when it failed to serve the economic needs of the freedmen by providing them with land.

This is inescapable truth. Yet self-examination may spare us from making easy judgment. "The average American does not realize how large a burden in long-term investments he must carry if poverty problems are to be solved," Gunnar Myrdal commented recently. If, as seems probable, the magnitude of sacrifice demanded by current problems remains uncomprehended, how unlikely was it that Americans in 1865 would understand the enormous needs of their day and advance the revolutionary programs that would have been required to cope with them. All evidence suggests that Abbott's understanding of contemporary dilemmas contributed to his formulation of the assumptions that underlie his book. I intend this as high compliment.

Ohio State University Merton L. Dillon

THE UNITED STATES ARMY AND RECONSTRUCTION, 1865–1877. By *James E. Sefton.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1967. Pp. xx, 284. $8.00.)

During the years after the Civil War the United States Army played a critical role in the reconstruction of the South. To the army fell the tasks of preserving order after the collapse of the Confederacy, of ruling the conquered territory under martial law until President and Congress could agree upon a plan of restoration, of enforcing the policy finally determined upon in the 1867 reconstruction legis-

lation, and of supporting the new biracial regimes established in the South. *The United States Army and Reconstruction, 1865–1877,* is a careful and scholarly analysis of how the army met these numerous difficult assignments. Based heavily upon the records of the War Department in the National Archives, this is a useful monograph, which at once gives a broad picture of the army's work in the South and also supplies sufficient case studies to illustrate its operations in detail. If Mr. Sefton does not considerably alter the accepted view of the army's role, he does establish with firm documentation that its work in the South "was creditable to the Army as an institution."

What Sefton adds to our general understanding of the Reconstruction era is less certain. Believing, with W. T. Sherman, that "No matter what change we may desire in the feelings and thoughts of people South, we cannot accomplish it by force," he is hostile toward the more radically inclined army officers like U. S. Grant, John Pope, and Adelbert Ames, but instead of arguing his case against them, he casts slurs and uses loaded language. He is acerb in his comments upon the biography of Edwin M. Stanton by Benjamin P. Thomas and Harold M. Hyman, which views the contest between President Johnson and the Radical Republicans as in part a struggle for control over the southern occupation forces, but his sniping from his footnotes inflicts at most flesh wounds. Correctly observing that "power, influence, and activity are functions of much more than mere numbers," Sefton also challenges John Hope Franklin's view that the army necessarily played a small role in the final stages of Reconstruction because so few troops were stationed in the South. His own evidence, however, points to numbers of instances where federal forces in the South were too thinly spread to prevent disorders, and he fails to see the significance of his observation that "the citizens [of the South] offered no violence to the soldiers; to have massacred a command of federal troops would have had serious repercussions."

In short, Sefton's book does not add much to the continuing debate on the Reconstruction era, but as a valuable contribution to the history of the United States Army it abundantly illustrates the work performed by the troops in the South during the years after Appomattox.

Johns Hopkins University DAVID DONALD

THE MONEY QUESTION DURING RECONSTRUCTION. By *Walter T. K. Nugent.* [The Norton Essays in American History.] (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1967. Pp. 127. Cloth $4.50, paper $1.25.)

AFTER many decades of relative neglect the money issue in post-Civil War America has in recent years received much attention from a variety of historians and economists including Irwin Unger, Stanley Coben, Milton Friedman and Anna Schwartz, Richard Timberlake, Allen Weinstein, and me. The latest entry in the list is this volume by Dr. Walter T. K. Nugent of Indiana University.

The title of this book does not seem entirely felicitous. The money controversy of the *post-bellum* decade was an inseparable part of the general political climate. Yet the word "Reconstruction" as used in the title refers primarily to a period of time. Little attempt is made to plumb the depths of interaction between the money question and other political and economic issues of the time. No doubt

this would have been impossible to achieve in such a short treatise, but the use of the word "Reconstruction" in the title implies a breadth of view that is not present.

Nugent devotes somewhere between a third and a fourth of his pages to a discussion of international monetary affairs including the trend toward gold monometallism and the failure of efforts toward international bimetallism. His treatment of this subject is quite useful and plausible, particularly his argument that the movement toward gold on the part of France and Germany was designed to achieve nationalist rather than internationalist goals.

The treatment of the "Crime of '73" in this volume is quite similar to the argument first set forth by Weinstein in a paper delivered at the meeting of the Organization of American Historians in 1966. Research by Weinstein and Nugent has now made it quite clear that a drastic fall in the market price of silver was anticipated in the late sixties by such key personages as George Boutwell and John Sherman and that this foreknowledge played a considerable role in the framing of the fateful coinage act of 1873. Nugent argues that "The demonetization was not undertaken to protect creditors or to give them something for nothing, but to protect instead the public credit." Here and elsewhere Nugent agrees with Unger in placing major emphasis on moral and ideological considerations rather than economic interest. This argument would carry more weight if individuals and groups could be shown to have acted against their own economic interest for moral or ideological reasons. Such examples seem about as plentiful as Eskimos in the tropics.

As a brief survey of the money question in the sixties and seventies, this book should be useful to college and university students, particularly inasmuch as it contains an excellent fifteen-page bibliographical essay. Except for the pages dealing with the international monetary scene, however, not much of this analysis appears to be new.

George Washington University ROBERT P. SHARKEY

PRESIDENTIAL SEIZURE IN LABOR DISPUTES. By *John L. Blackman, Jr.* [Wertheim Publications in Industrial Relations.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 351. $10.00.)

PRESIDENTS, politicians, professors, and the public have always been concerned that strikes not interfere with what is deemed to be public services. Thus, rising unionization among public employees has fostered numerous proposals, some laws, and frequent *ad hoc* procedures to prevent these people from emulating their blue-collar associates in the private sector and "hitting the bricks." During such national emergencies as wars, moreover, American public policy has been to try to prevent any stoppage in the production of goods and services deemed essential to the war effort. As a result, Presidents have taken a number of steps to compel continued production. In seventy-one instances during the past one hundred years, the President seized and ran operations, mainly of transportation facilities and military suppliers. Professor John L. Blackman, Jr., a member of the University of Massachusetts' department of economics, has studied these

seventy-one seizures in his thorough, but drearily written, *Presidential Seizure in Labor Disputes.*

Though Blackman deals with a hundred-year period, and with seizures that have taken place during peace, war, and reconversion (mainly, however, during the latter two), he only infrequently studies the differences in attitudes and practices over time or during different periods. Blackman usually takes the seventy-one cases and analyzes and reanalyzes them as to what percentage, for example, lasted different lengths of time under presidential control. If one, therefore, wants a thorough report of seizures in terms of the law, the types of resistance met by the President, the methods used to overcome these resistances, the extent of different controls used, the policies and standards followed, and a sympathetic, though critical, analysis of the merits of seizure, then Blackman's book is the place to go. There the reader will find all of the types, all of the percentages, plus lots of detailed tables and appendixes.

But if one wants, for example, a study in depth of any of the seizures to see what other alternative actions were available that might have resolved the dispute, one will not find this in Blackman's volume. Blackman justifiably points out that the seizures gave Presidents some flexibility in handling labor disputes; they meant, nonetheless, the end of normal collective bargaining. Plant seizures, however justified and however fairly administered, need to be studied in the framework of all procedures available to a society anxious to end a bitter dispute, procedures that facilitate not interfere with collective bargaining. And research by the numbers and by typologies, such as Blackman's, though useful, nonetheless divides the subject to be studied into parts. Some other scholar will have to weld these parts together in a much-needed history of collective bargaining in the United States.

Michigan State University ALBERT A. BLUM

ROGER SHERMAN AND THE INDEPENDENT OIL MEN. By *Chester McArthur Destler.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 305. $8.75.)

THIS volume may perhaps be most charitably viewed as an extended footnote to the author's earlier work, *Henry Demarest Lloyd and the Empire of Reform* (1963). The Roger Sherman of Destler's title was a descendant of the Connecticut signer of the Declaration of Independence of the same name, but having been born in the border state of Kentucky and raised in Tennessee and Arkansas, he spent almost two years fighting on the Confederate side in the Civil War before moving north and establishing a law practice in the oil regions of Pennsylvania in the mid-1860's.

Sherman's later career—the obstacles he had to overcome to be admitted to the Pennsylvania bar and the thwarting of his intermittent political aspirations thereafter—presents some information on the lingering difficulties of former rebels in northern society. Sherman managed to overcome most of these difficulties and to emerge by the mid-seventies as the leading attorney and spokesman for Pennsylvania's independent oil producers in their struggle with the "Octopus," Rockefeller's Standard Oil monopoly. The struggle was largely in vain, and Sherman

himself, in 1882, went over to become, for five years, a member of Standard's legal staff. These were unrewarding years for Sherman, and when his tenure ended he returned to his first love, the antimonopoly fight. His records and his knowledge in this connection attracted him to Henry Demarest Lloyd when this early muckraker was preparing his *Wealth against Commonwealth,* largely an exposé of Rockefeller's and the Standard's cruel and lawless methods.

The essential accuracy of Lloyd's materials has withstood countless attempts to discredit it, a strength that might be attributed in large part to Sherman's review of the manuscript and his other contributions to it. But Sherman himself remains a shadowy and apparently conventional figure despite Destler's biographical approach to his life and work. Destler's review of Sherman's work itself adds little to our knowledge of Standard Oil's wrongdoing, of which we perhaps have long since known enough, while his frame of reference is as archaic as Lloyd's without Lloyd's justification. Ida Tarbell's *History of the Standard Oil Company* remains much the best book on the Standard's independent opponents, offering the keenest insight into their own pathetic limitations.

West Redding, Connecticut WILLIAM MILLER

ONLY TO GOD: THE EXTRAORDINARY LIFE OF GODFREY LOWELL CABOT. By *Leon Harris.* (New York: Atheneum. 1967. Pp. xiv, 361. $8.95.)

THIS is a difficult book to review for a professional journal. As a work of scholarship it is amateurish; the author, for example, apparently believes that he can prove any point if he can find an appropriate quotation from Henry Adams' *Education.* It is the biography of a successful nineteenth- and twentieth-century businessman written almost without reference to the large body of economic history relative to the subject. The treatment throughout is episodic, a mélange of unassimilated detail. On the other hand, this is a fascinating book and one that professional historians can read with profit. Its interest lies in the particular qualities of its subject, the carbon black manufacturer and bulwark of the Massachusetts Watch and Ward Society, Godfrey Lowell Cabot, and in the liberality of Cabot's descendants, who have shared with the author not only Cabot's papers but also their own recollections and their most intimate feelings about the subject.

Cabot (1861–1962) had nearly all the virtues and defects of the Boston Brahmin in exaggerated form. A prodigious worker, a generous philanthropist, a worshiper of moral absolutes, he was also arrogant, stiff, self-righteous, and prudish. He made a huge fortune manufacturing carbon black from natural gas and then, until well into his nineties, refused to turn over control of his business to his son. He was at once both highly sexed and absurdly modest. He made enormous "demands" upon his wife, sent her passionate, frustrated letters while away from her on business trips, the erotic passages written in German. (Mrs. Cabot once complained to her sister-in-law that her greatest unfulfilled ambition was to have her own bedroom or at least a separate bed "where she could escape from Godfrey's sexual demands.") Yet in their long life together, they never wittingly saw each other naked.

Harris relies heavily upon quotations from Cabot's journals and correspondence.

Much of what he prints makes interesting reading. Cabot's narrow-minded opinions on politics, society, literature, and art are amusing, although not remarkable as examples of Victorian prejudices and tastes. More striking are his comments about business ethics and about a wide selection of social problems; he was by no means consistently conservative. Harris stresses the enormous competitive drive in Cabot, which he traces, somewhat unconvincingly, to the fact that he was something of a runt as a boy. He concludes that Cabot became a multimillionaire through hard work and meticulous attention to detail, but also in considerable measure through luck: the invention of the automobile caused a huge increase in the demand for carbon black, an ingredient in tires. Like so many industrialists of his era, he appeared to work more for power than for money, and, as his son put it rather ruefully, power meant to him chiefly "the power to enforce Right with a capital R." He was not a great man or a noble one, and certainly not a very likable one. But in these pages, warts and all, he appears to have been a formidable man, one who can be admired at a certain distance, like some exotic bull buffalo or rhinoceros in a zoo.

Columbia University JOHN A. GARRATY

ABRAHAM BISNO, UNION PIONEER: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF BISNO'S EARLY LIFE AND THE BEGINNINGS OF UNIONISM IN THE WOMEN'S GARMENT INDUSTRY. With a foreword by *Joel Seidman*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 244. $6.50.)

SOCIAL historians have always envied the abundant personal records available to the political historians. Oral history projects are, fortunately, redressing the balance somewhat, but not, of course, for the period beyond the memory of the living generation. Occasionally, however, a document comes to light that adds the same kind of personal dimension to the more distant past as does oral history for recent years. Such is the autobiography of Abraham Bisno (1866–1929). It is, indeed, a kind of oral history, since Bisno dictated it and then, evidently without reworking it, simply set the manuscript aside to gather dust until, at the death of his wife in 1944, it was discovered and circulated within the family; it finally, through the generosity of the University of Wisconsin Press, finds its way into print. Nor is it the best of oral history. A probing interviewer might have sharpened and made more concrete parts of Bisno's story. And, considering the pungency and frankness of his observations, the autobiography comes out curiously flat, very likely because he related it in English rather than in his native Yiddish. Still, it would be churlish not to be thankful for the document or to acknowledge its value for American social historians.

To begin with, Bisno tells us much about the process of immigration and acculturation. Born in tsarist Russia, he describes the hard life of the Jews there and provides an especially vivid account of the pogrom in 1881. The experience drove the Bisno family, along with many others, to the United States. Bisno has much to say about how the Russian Jewish immigrants adjusted to American life, especially about their penetration of the needle trades. The autobiography

is equally important for its illumination of early trade-unionism among the immigrant garmentworkers. A freethinker by the time he came to America, Bisno fell in easily with the radical thinking current in Chicago in the 1880's. He quickly became a dominant figure in the nascent garment unions there. Several things are notable in his account: his transition to unionist; his career as an early labor leader; his shrewd perception of the need to shape tactics to the structure of the industry; and his trials in attempting to bring stability to the volatile garment unions. Finally, the autobiography has some shrewd comments to make about life in Chicago in the late nineteenth century. Bisno witnessed the memorable events there, he knew the Hull House group, and he served under Florence Kelley as a state factory inspector for four years. Especially arresting is his comparison of the rich sensuality within his own radical circle and the dry impersonality he found among educated American reformers: "These bachelor men and women . . . seldom sing, almost never dance, and their attitude towards each other carries no sign of their sex life. . . . They treat each other as though they were not men and women."

Bisno ends his account in 1900, but his rather anticlimactic later career is traced in Joel Seidman's helpful foreword.

University of California, Davis DAVID BRODY

LABOR IN THE SOUTH. By *F. Ray Marshall.* [Wertheim Publications in Industrial Relations.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 406. $8.00.)

THE author puts forth this study of *Labor in the South* as the expression in the labor field of the South's historical uniqueness as an economic, demographic, geographic, and political region. Within this regional approach, the purpose is "primarily to analyze the factors influencing the growth of organized labor in the south" rather than to emphasize labor's collective bargaining, political, and other activities.

Treatment is largely chronological with a wide range of unions, trades, and industries (coal, textiles, longshoring, building trades, steel, agriculture, and so forth) analyzed within each of three major periods: before 1932, depression and New Deal, and war and postwar developments. Marshall analyzes more sharply in the final part of the book thematic material scattered throughout preceding chapters, for example, membership trends, union growth theory, and union growth and the impact of legislation.

This is an excellent and ambitious study. The research is thorough. The depth of documented material on every major labor union and organizing effort in the South, since the latter nineteenth century, makes the book highly valuable and assures it long life as a scholarly source in labor history. It adds new understanding to racial aspects of union organizing, makes a contribution to union growth theory, and challenges the conviction, held by many, that laws have been a major cause of union growth (for instance, the Wagner Act) or a major impediment to it (such as the South's right-to-work legislation).

Of the many factors affecting union growth in the South, Marshall believes

the economic ones to be more decisive than the ideological, social, and political. One wonders how to interpret this against the South's historical uniqueness which, as Marshall fully appreciates, rests so distinctively on the Negro presence and the values of a traditional political and social system. Perhaps the economic explanation looms larger as uniqueness (including race as a factor in union growth) recedes into history and industrialization advances.

The most revealing application of union growth theory is in the contrast between the success of the United Mine Workers and the failure of textile unions in organizing in the South. Unions have been growing faster in the South than elsewhere since 1939, and the author predicts continued growth but at a rate slower than the increase in nonagricultural employment.

Labor in the South is full of facts (and is not always easy reading) yet contains provocative analysis. It is one of the best books written on this subject.

Cornell University JAMES O. MORRIS

FIRST NATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ON THE HISTORY OF THE FOREST PRODUCTS INDUSTRIES: PROCEEDINGS, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, MAY 17–18, 1966. Edited by *Elwood R. Maunder* and *Margaret G. Davidson.* [Sponsored by the Forest History Society, Inc., Yale University, and the Business History Group, Harvard University School of Business Administration. Held at the Harvard University School of Business Administration.] (New Haven, Conn.: Forest History Society. 1967. Pp. vii, 221. $5.00.)

As indicated by its tree-tall title, this book is the result of a colloquium held in Boston in the spring of 1966. Approximately eighty people attended, with a dozen colleges represented and the remainder coming from the world of active forestry and the lumber industry. It is odd that none of the professors came from the great timber states from Minnesota to the Pacific slope. Likewise, most of the private and governmental representatives also hailed from east of the Mississippi. The findings have, nonetheless, national significance.

Nor have the forests of broad insight been neglected for the trees of technicalities. Take, for instance, the opening article by Edward C. Kirkland on "The Goal of Equality and Business Dissent." The author points out that so much of the latter nineteenth-century attempt at equality had little to do with the black race, but was predicated on a need for equality in educational opportunity and for the division of fortunes. The income tax, slight as it was at the beginning, was a step in the direction of repetitive economic opportunity through some redistribution of wealth. Nonradicals like Senator John Sherman of Ohio could speak out for "the right of every man to work, labor, and produce in any lawful vocation." And even businessmen, always lacking ideological unity, often agreed.

Also explored are the forest industry's "response to pressures and opportunity for change," as seen in a thoughtful essay by Ralph W. Hidy; a session on twentieth-century patterns of thought and action; four papers predicting the future; and the usual personal reminiscences by long-term participants in the field. On the whole it all comes off very well.

University of Texas JOE B. FRANTZ

THEODORE ROOSEVELT: THE MAN AS I KNEW HIM. By *Nicholas Roosevelt.* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1967. Pp. xiv, 205. $5.95.)

This is a welcome addition to Rooseveltiana. The author, a cousin of TR, contemporary of his sons, and journalist by profession, spent much time at "Sagamore Hill" as a youth. He accompanied TR to the Republican Convention in 1912, worked in Progressive party headquarters in New York during the campaign, and took a pack trip into the Grand Canyon with TR in 1913. Drawing heavily on his own diary and personal letters, he has produced what is partly a memoir and largely a character study of TR. He has contributed several footnotes to the political history of the progressive era and has made a compelling case for TR's personal commitment to reform and, of course, to conservation.

A few judgments, especially that on the Panama affair, are highly questionable. Many historians will also challenge the interpretation of TR's role in World War I. Yet most of the historical exposition is sound, and the writing as a whole is informed by modesty, critical detachment, and sharp, often penetrating insights into TR's personality. Mr. Roosevelt writes that TR's selection of Taft as his successor was "a reflection either on his political sagacity or his judgment of men, or both." He also gives an illuminating twist to some of his other faults: for example, his achievements "were so much greater than he could have dared hope" that he spoke of them "not so much in bald egotism as in a sort of paean of incredulous self-congratulation." Yet the tenor is generally favorable. Roosevelt gives many examples of TR's "instinctive kindness." He holds, again with supporting illustrations, that he was not truly vindictive. He adds to the overwhelming evidence that TR's intellectual curiosity was insatiable and his knowledge of history, nature, and literature extraordinary. And he persuasively contends, as did Gifford Pinchot, Learned Hand, Fiorello La Guardia, and scores of others who were influenced by TR, that his personality was essentially constructive. The author's low-key account of his pack trip with TR succeeds notably in re-creating the colonel in three dimensions. He also characterizes his second wife, Edith Carow, far more convincingly than TR's biographers have done.

University of Virginia William H. Harbaugh

JOSEPH PULITZER AND THE *NEW YORK WORLD.* By *George Juergens.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. xv, 392. $10.00.)

Only the first two years (1883–1885) of Joseph Pulitzer's editorship of the New York *World* come under examination in this Columbia University doctoral dissertation. Yet those were critical years in the development of the style of journalism that would constitute Pulitzer's chief contribution to American culture. By closely studying the *World*'s pages during that short period with an eye for journalistic technique and a solid grasp of social context, Professor Juergens tells us much about how Pulitzer mobilized a mass audience. In no single way an innovator, he blended with a unique energy and vivacity all of the emerging strategies of mass appeal: an emphasis on familiar scenes and dramatic human incidents, increasingly lavish illustration, display advertisements, extensive sports coverage, women's features, and a crusading advocacy of the aspirations and hos-

tilities of the urban populace. Through Pulitzer's editorial policies we get a revealing insight into some of the ambivalences of his readers, into their awe of the rich, for example, and their indignation at the power of wealth. Juergens' account of how the *World* treated such issues is sufficiently detailed to amount incidentally to an interesting commentary on the social scene.

Of Pulitzer as an individual or of his obsessive political aspirations we learn little. For that one must turn to W. A. Swanberg's new biography. Differences between Pulitzer's policies in New York and those that Professor Julian Rammelkamp has recently found in the editor's earlier career in St. Louis are only asserted. They are not really probed, for Juergens' research begins and ends in the New York of the mid-eighties. In larger ways also this study does not altogether sustain its claim that Pulitzer created in 1883 "the first modern newspaper." By relying entirely on secondary sources for the general history of the press, the author has denied himself the opportunity of studying in depth the relations between Pulitzer's *World* and its predecessors.

University of Michigan JOHN HIGHAM

THE PAPERS OF WOODROW WILSON. Volume III, 1884–1885. *Arthur S. Link et al.,* Editors. [Sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and Princeton University.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 648. $15.00.)

THE third volume of *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson,* which are now being published at the rate of two volumes a year, covers the period from February 1884 to the last week of January 1885. During this time the future President continued his graduate studies at Johns Hopkins University, saw his *Congressional Government* published, and secured a teaching position at Bryn Mawr College. But overshadowing all these important developments was the full flowering of Wilson's love for his fiancée, Ellen Louise Axson of Georgia, with whom he exchanged letters almost daily. The fact that Miss Axson was far away, either at home in Savannah or in New York studying art, while he read books in Baltimore helps account for Wilson's occasional dissatisfaction with what the university and his teachers, Herbert Baxter Adams and Richard T. Ely, could offer him. Letter after letter demonstrates his unabashed devotion to his "own darling" Ellen, his pain at being separated from her, and his steely insistence that his "rights" be remembered and respected when she saw the other admirers who buzzed around her. The proprieties and hardships of Victorian courtship, along with Wilson's own profound feeling for this young woman, are well documented in the letters included in this volume.

And so are the enduring qualities of Wilson's character and personality. Even his tender and affectionate love letters reveal the philosophical bent of mind, the pride and seriousness, the didacticism, the conservatism, and the prudery of the man who was to become the twenty-seventh President. Yet this man who could disapprove of Ellen's seeing "a stage full of young women with scarcely any clothing" because it was "not an improving thing to look upon" could also make light of his own foibles—at this point in his life at any rate—by observing how often people mistook him for a clergyman or missionary and ruefully acknowl-

edging his "tendency to talk big generalities—to drive a six-horse team to even the smallest vehicle of an argument. . . ."

Arthur Link and his editorial associates and the Princeton University Press are creating a handsome and expertly edited series. It is especially gratifying that so many letters to Wilson from others have been included. They round out the meaning of his own messages and provide an occasional respite from the voluminous correspondence between "My darling Woodrow" and "My own darling" Ellen.

American University Robert L. Beisner

BELOVED LADY: A HISTORY OF JANE ADDAMS' IDEAS ON REFORM AND PEACE. By *John C. Farrell.* [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXXV (1967), Number 2.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1967. Pp. 272. $6.95.)

This is a dissertation whose author died tragically just after its completion. It has been revised slightly by two anonymous colleagues, and there is a foreword by Charles Barker, the thesis adviser. It is not a biography of Jane Addams but rather a sympathetic attempt to explore her ideas on reform and peace. It thus joins a growing body of literature that takes reformers and pacifists seriously.

After brief chapters on early influences and the founding of Hull House the book concentrates on Addams' educational thought, her concern for urban recreation, and her opposition to war, but it touches on many other areas: her attitudes toward organized labor and the Negro, her participation in the Progressive campaign of 1912, and her work for woman suffrage. The author sees the twin themes of "culture and democracy" forming the center of her thought and describes the change in her ideas from a paternalistic belief that culture could be bestowed on the poor to a more democratic concept that a major source for culture and a new social democracy was the urban immigrant. He also sees her work for peace and internationalism growing directly out of her ideas on reform. Throughout he stresses the realism and pragmatic nature of Addams' thought, and he writes almost wholly from her point of view which sometimes disguises the fact that she was occasionally naïve and often controversial.

There is a basic difficulty in the approach of this book. Addams was primarily an activist, organizer, mediator, and spokesman rather than an original and systematic thinker. She borrowed from many sources, but her own experience was more important. The author is aware of this difficulty, but by stressing the intellectual influences and contributions he distorts the picture. He has not, however, depended simply on her published writings; he has immersed himself in the manuscripts and has conducted a tireless search for the sources and implications of her ideas. Indeed the most valuable parts of this book are the extensive explanatory footnotes, the bibliographical essay, and the carefully compiled bibliography of Addams' own writings. Farrell has not said the last word on Jane Addams, but all others who follow will have to take account of what he has written.

University of Missouri Allen F. Davis

BLACK CHICAGO: THE MAKING OF A NEGRO GHETTO, 1890–1920. By *Allan H. Spear.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 254. $7.50.)

THE central frame of reference of Allan H. Spear's *Black Chicago* is the deteriorating state of race relations in that metropolis from the late nineteenth through the early twentieth century. He documents for Chicago what we know is true for the entire North in these years: that the era was typified by the emergence of an increasingly biracial society. The somewhat more fluid social patterns of the 1870's and 1880's hardened and eventually became quite rigid under the pressures of an expanding black population. Separation, segregation, and general conditions of second-class citizenship affected Negro housing, schools, and employment. Spear argues forcefully that the ghetto predated the Great Migration, and that the World War I movement of peoples simply solidified racial attitudes and conditions that had been clearly evident earlier.

Spear has chosen to write less of "the making of a Negro ghetto" than he has of the institutions and ideologies of the Chicago Negro community. His main interest throughout the book is in demonstrating that the dominant racial attitudes of Negro leaders varied with the shifting mood of the city. Under the more easygoing conditions of the 1870's and 1880's, Negro spokesmen emphasized assimilationist themes and the need for multiracial institutions; under the pressures of interracial hostility later on they stressed the necessity of group solidarity and self-reliance. One generation was somewhat embarrassed by racial designations and held them meaningless; the other accepted them, sometimes gloried in them, and used them as sources for personal advancement. What Spear has done here, and done well, has been to apply to his community the main structure of the argument that August Meier used for the entire nation in *Negro Thought in America, 1880–1915* (1963).

A subordinate but ever-present second thesis deals with the role of Negroes as an ethnic group. Spear takes great pains to demonstrate the differences, the dissimilarities, between the problems of white minorities and those of Negroes. He points to the necessity of black people fighting for citizenship rights that were granted white immigrants solely on the basis of skin color; of the racial job ceiling that forced the majority of Negroes into perpetually lower-class positions; of the inability of the black middle class to break out of the ghetto. Those scholars who insist on confusing class with color caste in America might read these sections to advantage.

The book's most serious flaw, in my view, is in its initial conceptualization. To assume that one writes meaningfully of any community by concentrating on the ideological implications inherent in its institutional development is somewhat analogous to analyzing the city by talking about the shape and tone of its buildings. To do so is to lose the spirit and juices of life. Spear counts himself out on this score in his preface when he says: "Historical materials are ill-suited for a systematic treatment of the warped personalities, the thwarted ambitions, and unbearable frustrations that the ghetto has produced. The historian cannot explain Bigger Thomas, John Grimes, or the Invisible Man; he can, it may be hoped, contribute to an understanding of the community that spawned them." I

disagree totally with the substance and implications of this restrictive vision. And even to remain within its confines, however, I would suggest that a fuller discussion of ante bellum racial attitudes in Chicago is essential. For it was then, not in the 1870's and 1880's, that the image of a raceless society was born. Furthermore, especially in the light of the paucity of available manuscript material, a potentially fascinating and important study of the Negro working class might have emerged from the use of the journals and papers of such labor organizations as the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen Union.

Yet measuring these limitations against the acknowledged strengths of the book, especially its careful and interesting attention to ideological and class distinctions within the Negro community, *Black Chicago* remains a sound and worthwhile study.

University of Illinois, Chicago GILBERT OSOFSKY

DIVORCE IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA. By *William L. O'Neill.* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 295. $6.50.)

IN 1889 the United States Bureau of Labor's report, *Marriage and Divorce,* brought to the public notice the fact that in each decade since 1860 the divorce rate of the country had been rising with what appeared to be alarming momentum. William O'Neill contributes an informative and engrossing study of changing attitudes toward this new social trend in the period 1890–1920, after which the public acceptance of divorce as a matter of personal choice became increasingly common. In these decades the author shows that the debate over divorce illuminated Americans' basic questions about the permanence of the family as an institution, the relation of happiness to marriage, the meaning of sex for men and women, and the role of women in an increasingly industrialized society.

Educated members of society—ministers, writers, social scientists, and feminists of both sexes—took their stands in learned publications and in more popular journals and books. It is significant that although the majority of Protestant and Catholic churchmen at first regarded divorce as an overwhelming threat to the family as the true foundation of society, they could not agree on criteria by which to limit access to divorce. O'Neill attributes the failure of the New England Divorce League founded in 1881 by a Congregational minister, Samuel W. Dike, to the lack of solidarity among conservatives. The liberals on divorce who included a distinguished range of persons such as Carroll Wright, Walter Willcox, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Edward A. Ross, and Elsie Clews Parsons similarly brought different perspectives and reached no uniform conclusions. While social scientists were in time persuasive to other intellectuals, theologians proved more important in counteracting the conservative tendencies of most religious leaders and thinkers. In contrast to the shifting balance of conservatives and liberals on divorce, a radical minority of anarchists and socialists favored nonmarriage. This book is, on the whole, particularly valuable in demonstrating the gradual accommodation of progressive attitudes on divorce to the dominant values in support of marriage and the family as institutions.

The author challenges the conventional interpretation that divorce was symptomatic of the decline of the family and claims that divorce has become the safety

valve making possible the preservation of the conjugal family system. This speculation like various other insights in *Divorce in the Progressive Era* is not fully explored.

Above all, the author tends to inject his own sympathetic view of divorce in a way that distracts from the historical focus of the book. Noting that "When divorces were expensive and difficult to obtain they were in effect restricted to middle- and upper-class persons," O'Neill continues, "But once the legal restraints on divorce eased, divorce tended to become a lower-class phenomenon. As a result, today the divorce rate among the lower class is more than twice as high as among the middle class." After a slight digression on divorce in the 1960's O'Neill states, while divorce in the nineteenth century seemed to contemporaries to be "a product of upper- and middle-class pathology, it was increasingly coming to be associated with lower-class life." Unfortunately this significant statement is not amplified in detail; nor are its crucial implications directly related to the content of this book. A welcome addition to the small body of scholarly work in this field, *Divorce in the Progressive Era* still leaves the reader with many questions unanswered. The debate on this topic should continue to draw the attention of historians.

Radcliffe College BARBARA M. SOLOMON

CHINA MARKET: AMERICA'S QUEST FOR INFORMAL EMPIRE, 1893–1901. By *Thomas J. McCormick*. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1967. Pp. 241. $6.50.)

THE author presents a thoughtful analysis of the forces moving the United States in the direction of empire and the nature of the empire they envisaged. As he sees it, the basic driving force at the turn of the century was the concern that the new industrial machine would produce more than could be sold at home, and this concern was sharply heightened by awareness of the danger to the domestic *status quo*. The solution to this problem that dominated the thinking of a broad array of leaders is called by the author "informal empire." The appeal of this goal lay in its low cost and the fact that it did not come into conflict with long-held attitudes opposed to alliances, colonialism, and military conflict.

The author interprets relations with China from 1893 to 1901 in terms of this framework. The Open Door notes of 1899 and circular note of July 3, 1900, were clear expressions of the underlying aspirations of the major groups in society. McCormick states that the interpretations of George F. Kenmore and Charles S. Campbell, Jr., have, consequently, "trivialized an event of enormous importance." "Both," he says, "inadequately appreciate that the Open Door Policy accurately reflected the widely shared assumptions and analysis of most social elements in America (including many without special vested interests); that both individual and group pressures were at best minor catalytic factors." The notes, McCormick maintains, represented a basic response to a basic problem, and he describes the solution as "a most interesting hybrid of anti-colonialism and economic imperialism."

The alternatives to this policy, as seen by the policy makers, suffered from substantial defects. One of these alternatives was to join in the partition of China,

and during some brief periods this received serious consideration. Its weaknesses were that a sphere of interest offered only a limited market compared to China as a whole, and it likewise was a solution that could become a liability in elections. A second alternative was to withdraw completely, a surrender the leaders found demeaning. The Open Door solution, however, also suffered serious weaknesses. There was no way to keep the door open short of a willingness to employ force in preventing Russian expansion. Barred from making military commitments itself, the United States relied on Japan to fight the battles. In the long run, Japan pursued an independent course that ran counter to the interests of the United States.

In my judgment, this is a most important volume. The clear presentation, the appropriate caution in applying the thesis to all that happened, and the valuable use of a wide variety of sources should recommend it to many readers. The book, however, provokes a series of questions worthy of investigation. There was a great interest in foreign markets, especially on the part of publicists, but how serious an effort did the business community make to sell abroad? How many representatives did it send abroad? What credit facilities did business provide for the prospective customer? How much serious effort was there in the 1890's to establish an adequate consular service? Was the American economy so organized that it could adjust readily to the conditions of foreign competition? Were protective tariffs and the national banking and currency systems better suited to a relatively self-sufficient and rapidly expanding home market than to foreign markets? If the answers to these questions are negative, then we may find that the resolutions and speeches may not have represented any deeply held convictions in the business community.

Michigan State University PAUL A. VARG

DAVID SNEDDEN AND EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL EFFICIENCY. By *Walter H. Drost.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 242. $8.50.)

BASICALLY the product of a Wisconsin graduate seminar, *David Snedden* delineates the role and contribution to American education of this "raw-boned cowboy who did not see the inside of a classroom until he was fourteen." One expects the emergence of a frontier image and a panegyric to the values of Horatio Alger. The image is invoked *passim,* but only in the final paragraph does Drost conclude that, after all, "it is possible that his [Snedden's] own story of upward social mobility, based on hard work and keen intellect in the best tradition of the 'American Dream,' is more eloquent in its message than his own proposals of education for social efficiency."

Had this slight accolade not so adumbrated Drost, he might have equated Snedden more directly with his idol, Herbert Spencer, whose *What Knowledge Is of Most Worth?* along with *Synthetic Sociology* catalyzed and, to a large degree, demarked Snedden's own educational theme and field of sociological endeavor. Thus, this is no hero story, and Drost appears to be at pains to suggest that his protagonist is no demigod. Yet he was, for his time, a significant figure.

And one might have thought that Drost could easily have turned to Daniel

Levine's *Varieties of Reform Thought* (1964) for the Snedden recipe was very like that of Jane Addams at Hull House: "One might well argue that a Polish immigrant working in a meat-packing plant had no need to learn Latin. Yet the conclusions she reached would have had the effect of educating workers to be workers and keeping them in their place. . . ." But hardly ever is Miss Addams considered antidemocratic; nor was David Snedden. His conception of democracy did, however, place another interpretation on frontierism. His frontier was not democratic in the Turner-Dewey sense. Failures fared no better on the frontier than in the city. In fact they might not last as long! Success, not always strictly ethical, was what paid off. It is romantic to write of the common pioneers; frequently they have a common grave. The names remembered had other claims to fame. They became specialists in whatever areas they pre-empted: business, cattle, railroading, superfarming, politics, banditry, sin.

Snedden's tragedy lay in the fact that, like many another, he seemingly came to be repudiated in his own time. As his program and personal contribution matured, chronology ushered in a new time bracket with which he was not familiar: the Progressive-Dewey period with its permissive-type "democratic education." This ideology was foreign to Snedden's—and Spencer's—conception of what should be most effective for social efficiency.

When he retired from Columbia in 1935, John Dewey was in the ascendant. Snedden was hardly finished; yet a cloud obscured his memorial to American education. He received no mention in Cremin's worthy *Transformation of the American School* (1962), despite the reality that even today California's Berkeley library shows 31 Snedden titles. Spencer rates 85, but Dewey shows 113.

Snedden's sin—and Drost never lets us forget this—was that he remained conservative when all around him were making obeisance to "child-centeredness"; he remained Jeffersonian while others espoused Jackson; he had only talent, not genius.

Is it possible that the pendulum will yet swing in Snedden's direction? Drost certainly does not think so.

University of California, Davis KENNETH V. LOTTICH

THE CORRESPONDENTS' WAR: JOURNALISTS IN THE SPANISH–AMERICAN WAR. By *Charles H. Brown.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1967. Pp. xi, 478. $8.95.)

THIS book describes how American newspapers reported the Cuban Revolution of 1895–1898 and the consequent American war with Spain. Though the work begins with a survey of major publishers and editors, especially in New York, and concludes with some cautious paragraphs saying that yellow journalism did not bear sole blame for the behavior of the United States, the body of the book concerns neither the policies of newspapers nor their impact on events. It is about reporters. One-fifth of its text deals with those who filed dispatches about Cuba prior to April 1898; three-fifths tell of those who covered the fighting fronts. The author, a professor of journalism at Pennsylvania State University, is interested primarily in who reported what, and when and where. For historians, the work's chief value lies in its illustration of a point suggested in passing on a prefatory

page: that the Cuban crisis and the Spanish-American War mark the point at which reporters became more important than editors in shaping the character of American newspapers.

Harvard University ERNEST R. MAY

THE MEDICAL MESSIAHS: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF HEALTH QUACKERY IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY AMERICA. By *James Harvey Young.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 460. $9.00.)

HARVEY Young's 1961 volume, *The Toadstool Millionaires,* carried the social history of patent medicines to 1906. *The Medical Messiahs* broadens the subject to health quackery in general and extends it to the present. The first book was excellent; the sequel is superb. Starting from the paradox that quacks are doing better than ever despite increased rigor of legal controls and advances in medical science and practice, Young illuminates his subject against the principal trends in science, marketing, and government. His main emphasis is on the legal weapons against quackery and the federal agencies—the Food and Drug Administration, the Post Office Department, and the Federal Trade Commission—that have responsibility for wielding them. A concurrent theme is the work of the American Medical Association and the National Better Business Bureau in the private sector.

Faced with an overwhelming mass of sources and a story of great complexity, Young proceeds by means of case studies of the campaigns against major quacks. Too often the case study technique is a superficial and misleading mask for inadequate research. Not so here. These nightmare tales of charlatanry are carefully integrated into the larger story they illustrate. Their use is peculiarly appropriate, for it was in campaigns against individual miscreants that the government sharpened its tactics and learned the limitations of its arms. The persistence of quackery cannot be explained in terms of defective legislation, inadequate appropriations, resourceful promoters, ignorance, and faulty logic alone. Young suggests that despite sometime support from men of enlightened intellect (Senator Paul Douglas gave his allegiance to Krebiozen), most disciples of the medical messiahs may be afflicted with Hofstadter's "one-hundred percent mentality." Those who follow the *ignes fatui* of quackery may suffer the same frustrations and imperatives as those committed to extremes in politics, economics, and religion.

This book is written in tight, graceful prose that reflects thought rather than substitutes for it. Done with a sure feel for the larger political, social, and economic background, it demonstrates that historians who would make socially relevant contributions need only adhere to the best canons of their art.

Bethesda, Maryland OSCAR E. ANDERSON, JR.

CHALLENGE AND REJECTION: THE UNITED STATES AND WORLD LEADERSHIP, 1900–1921. By *Julius W. Pratt.* [American Diplomatic History Series.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. viii, 248. $5.95.)

ANY challenges as demanding as those the world imposed on the United States during the first two decades of this century would, of necessity, require a massive

response. The United States entered the century as a so-called world power, with interests in Europe, Asia, and Latin America. Eventually, under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson, it chose to defend its interests in Europe at the price of a major military effort. That crusade re-established, at least on the surface, the traditional nineteenth-century order of power that had served the interests of the US so well. But if the nation had played an essential role in perpetuating that order against a German threat to destroy it, then this country's continued involvement in European affairs was essential. At Versailles, for the first time, an American diplomatist became a primary arbiter in the affairs of Europe and the world. Other nations, represented at Versailles, knew from experience that those who create the peace are responsible for the peace. World affairs, unfortunately, do not run on laws that transcend the policies and interests of individual states. Yet Wilson, in his emphasis on the creation of a new world order, failed to convey this essential knowledge to the American people. Having determined the nature of Europe's reconstruction with its power, the US, almost overnight, withdrew that power under the assumption that the peace system, once established, would operate on its own laws, or that, with its breakdown, nothing would occur that might demand a like response from the US again. In either case the judgment proved to be wrong.

This volume, as its title suggests, traces these challenges and responses through twenty crucial years. If the responses were less than clear it was because American officials simply failed to develop a body of thought that reflected the nation's interests in a real world of tension and conflict. They never learned, and thus could not teach, the lessons that the world conveyed and that they could really never escape. It need not have been so. Professor Pratt properly praises Theodore Roosevelt for his conceptualization of a national role that might have combined a maximum of security with a maximum of peace. Beyond Roosevelt, however, the author's emphasis is on fact rather than analysis. Roosevelt comes off better than Taft and Wilson, but did the decline result from the actions of Congress or the concepts of international politics that guided Roosevelt's successors? The author makes little use of contemporary critics, such as Herbert Croly, Alfred T. Mahan, and Lewis Einstein, brilliant as they were. Yet he describes many episodes with the precision that one would expect of an experienced historian. His treatment of Wilson at Versailles is superb. With its tendency to avoid judgment, the volume remains a valuable and useful survey of American foreign policy during two decades of immense challenge and activity.

University of Virginia NORMAN A. GRAEBNER

THE NEGRO IN VIRGINIA POLITICS, 1902–1965. By *Andrew Buni.* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1967. Pp. ix, 296. $6.00.)

PROFESSOR Buni's work is useful albeit conventional political history, the first state study of its kind on the twentieth-century Negro. It is a pellucid, compact, and smoothly organized catalogue of the pertinent campaigns and elections, local, state, and national, but it fails to consider the dynamics of the vital interaction of individuals and organizations in the politics of race advancement.

For most of this century, the author shows, the Negro and the race issue

played relatively minor roles in Virginia politics. Always, however, a handful of Negroes kept up the protest. They challenged the disfranchisement provisions in the courts, registered disapproval of Republican lily-white policies by running a full slate of lily-black candidates in the 1921 gubernatorial campaign, and worked on voter registration. With the 1954 Supreme Court decision, the rhythm of sluggishness and indifference changed to passion and commitment; Senator Harry F. Byrd, finally breaking his magisterial silence, led the forces of "massive resistance" against the integration of schools until the courts called a halt in 1959. In the next years federal actions in combination with "the movement" wiped out election encumbrances and placed over 100,000 Negroes on the voting books. In 1965 one of the principal leaders of "massive resistance" made an opportunistic *volte-face* and successfully campaigned for governor on a platform promising all Virginians "full equality before the law." The author does not deal with the question of white support, open or secret, for the Negro cause prior to 1960 (are we to conclude there was none?); nor does he speculate on why violence was almost totally absent from the political scene.

The chief fault of the book lies in the author's ineffective use of the source materials he has diligently uncovered. In addition to several white manuscript collections (always revealingly disappointing) and a heavy reliance on white and Negro newspapers, Buni gets his information from Negro organizational reports and dozens of personal interviews. NAACP records and those of the Virginia Voters League, a Negro organization created in 1941 to encourage voting, are, unfortunately, scarcely touched. The unimaginative questions asked in interviews with Negro leaders seldom elicit insightful answers. Thus the personalities, styles, ideologies, methods, and goals of men and movements are seen only dimly.

As a counterweight to the intensifying assault by historians on the myth of American innocence, we need to know more about the public and private influences at work on those men who cared enough to commit themselves to change.

University of Arkansas WILLIAM CHEEK

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES: POLITICS AND REFORM IN NEW YORK, 1905–1910. By *Robert F. Wesser*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 366. $8.50.)

PROFESSOR Wesser has written an exhaustive study of the administration of Republican Governor Charles Evans Hughes during the years that launched progressivism in New York State. The main thrust of Hughes's program centered on political and administrative reform and on state regulation of public-utility and financial corporations. Most of Wesser's volume details in thorough and definitive manner the triumphs and failures of Hughes in those areas. In a chapter near the end he describes also the advances in social welfare and labor legislation that took place during the Hughes regime, reforms of a type that were in the long run more significant, in my opinion, than measures like the direct primary, which absorbed so much of the governor's attention.

Throughout the book Wesser highlights the role that practical politics—intraparty and interparty, state level and national level—played in initiating,

shaping, and deciding the outcome of the reform battles of the Hughes years. Indeed, this is the main lesson of the book, for it calls to our attention the degree to which progressivism owed its achievements to political exigencies and to the machinations of politicians, as well as to the reformist currents set in motion by the muckrakers, preachers, and social philosophers and scientists whose contributions have been dwelt on so much. And yet, as Wesser indicates, herein is just where Hughes failed. Successful for a while and on some issues because of his appeal to an enlightened public opinion, Hughes nevertheless proved ineffective as a party leader and as a reformer of New York's Republican party, in large part precisely because of his disdain of "practical politics." When he left office in 1910 the New York GOP therefore easily returned to conservative control, a condition that persisted at least until the advent of Governor Thomas E. Dewey in the 1940's. Meanwhile, beginning with 1911 New York's state government came under the domination of Tammany boss Charles F. Murphy and such protégés of his as Alfred E. Smith and Robert F. Wagner.

If Wesser extends his study of Empire State politics and progressivism beyond 1910, as he has indicated he intends to do, it should be interesting to see how he evaluates the performance of men such as these, who were practical politicians par excellence. His present book points up the importance of high-minded and independent apolitical progressives like Hughes. But it may also stimulate appreciation of the usefulness to reform causes of at least some of the men who bore the opprobrium of being "professional politicians."

Rutgers University J. Joseph Huthmacher

CONGRESSIONAL INSURGENTS AND THE PARTY SYSTEM, 1909–1916. By *James Holt.* [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 60.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 188. $5.50.)

The history of the Insurgent Republican congressmen and senators who emerged during the last years of Theodore Roosevelt's second administration was well done for the Taft years over a quarter century ago by Kenneth Hechler. But subsequently no one has followed the career of this agrarian-minded and peculiarly individualistic group in its rather tortuous and almost invariably stormy relationships with both major parties as well as with Roosevelt's Progressives. In extending Hechler's study from 1912 through the election of 1916 this book is a valuable addition to the political history of the period.

As Professor Holt states in his preface, he has not attempted to write "a definitive history of insurgency"; nor is he primarily concerned with the origins of the movement or with its ideology, but rather with "a study of the insurgents' role in the party system." Since his sources largely relate to the senatorial Insurgents, the author has paid little attention to the thirty or forty Insurgents in the House of Representatives. But within the limits Holt set for himself he has performed admirably.

This volume corrects some errors in earlier works, including some of my own. It challenges, not entirely convincingly, the assumption that the Bull Moose movement resulted in making the Republican party overwhelmingly conservative. The

comparative study of Robert La Follette and George Norris as political leaders, to the advantage of the former, is both interesting and scholarly. But the author's major contribution is in detailing the strange and seemingly illogical position of the Insurgents toward the major legislation of the Wilson period.

The author has taken scant notice of the Adamson Act and includes no discussion of the Insurgent position with reference to the labor provisions of the Clayton Act. While perhaps not important for party maneuvering, the Insurgent position on these labor issues might have illuminated some of the ideological reasons for their failure as national leaders.

Much of the strength of this volume and some of its limitations arise from the author's residence at the University of Auckland, New Zealand. For far too long American history has been almost monopolized by Americans. A view from a new point of reference such as this one is very welcome.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill GEORGE E. MOWRY

RANDOLPH BOURNE: LEGEND AND REALITY. By *John Adam Moreau.* (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 227. $5.00.)

HISTORIANS who have never so much as drilled a platoon have been known to write good biographies of generals. The minds of generals are rarely complex, and the work of organizing mass slaughter is not as complicated as it should be. Biographies of intellectuals present rather different problems. The intellectual's thought processes are by definition intricate; he must bring to his work a vast store of information; and the qualities that give him skill or genius cannot be summarized in an army "fitness report." It helps if biographers and historians who deal with intellectuals have some bent for unraveling and parsing complex ideas, some approximation of the knowledge their subject brings to his work, and a good grounding in the environment to which the man of ideas reacts. This cannot be said for the author of *Randolph Bourne: Legend and Reality.*

Mr. Moreau has patiently gone through the materials available for a biography of Bourne. A native of Bloomfield, New Jersey, himself, he has added a little to the data we have on Bourne's early life. Many interviews with Bourne's friends have also allowed Moreau to put together more than was previously known about Bourne's romantic attachments. But, when the author attempts to deal with Bourne's ideas and the intellectual's manner and means of expressing them, the results are embarrassing. Moreau apologizes endlessly for Bourne's radicalism, assuring us that in him America had "a son who loved her as much as any who had been in the trenches." The level of the analysis can be suggested most fairly in the author's own words, for example when he attempts to examine Bourne's relationship to Marxism. "There are only shaky indications that he would have been some kind of Marxist," writes Moreau, "but indeed some of that element of the Left have tried to make him their unique embryo intellectual pretty boy." Beyond such mindlessness, the work's careless writing, numerous errors, confused and incorrect footnotes, and shabby editing preclude the praise that might otherwise be given a conscientious effort.

State University of New York, Binghamton CHARLES FORCEY

THE KU KLUX KLAN IN THE CITY, 1915–1930. By *Kenneth T. Jackson.* [The Urban Life in America Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 326. $7.50.)

This ably researched, informative book helps fill in the history of the Klan as America's prime fraternal order of the 1920's. By study of Atlanta, Chicago, Dallas, Denver, Detroit, Indianapolis, Knoxville, Memphis, and Portland, plus brief summaries of urban Klans elsewhere, Dr. Jackson offers extremely useful quantification of Klan membership, socioeconomic position, and urban location. He also confirms the internal self-destructiveness of the Klan and additionally casts doubt on the "moral authoritarianism" interpretation of its nature.

The central interest is an attempt to view the Klan through the new urban interpretation of the twenties. The Klan, he maintains, was basically urban and stemmed from "the peculiar problems and tensions of daily life in the city." These principally came from an intra-urban "confrontation of cultures," particularly in the immigrant and Negro "zones of emergence."

The path of proof is marked by narrative wanderings and important inconsistencies. The Middle West is both offered and disproven as a historical center of tolerance; old and new immigrant communities are lumped together; Knoxville is shown as both typical and untypical of population stability; John Mecklin's view of the Klan is both rejected and accepted; and urban Klansmen are shown to be concentrated both in and outside of zones of emergence.

To focus on the city is not to establish an urban interpretation and may obscure the importance of the data. Jackson's urban Klansmen were fraternal, racist, nativist, patriotic, prohibitionist, political, Protestant, sometimes violent, and aggressively defensive, but hardly did anything unique. In dealing with the massed membership in the major cities and detaching them from their national, and often state, moorings, he misses the vital fact that their values and behavior were not substantially different from that of Klansmen elsewhere. All seemed to share a common uneasiness over change and the loss of the American certainty. The remarkable thing about the urban Klansmen was the degree that they failed to attend to what ought to have been "urban" business. They should, at least, have organized more neighborhood improvement associations and had fewer chicken dinners, evangelists from Atlanta, and antipapal processionals.

This review is not hostile to the testing of urban history hypotheses. In an otherwise useful book, however, the technique is not sufficiently developed, and the hooded knights of the Ku Klux Klan, although importantly urban, appear to have been otherwise singularly uncooperative.

University of Florida David Chalmers

THE IMMIGRANTS' INFLUENCE ON WILSON'S PEACE POLICIES. Edited by *Joseph P. O'Grady.* ([Lexington:] University of Kentucky Press. 1967. Pp. x, 329. $8.50.)

A gap in the literature of American foreign affairs in the period 1918–1920 is adequately filled by this useful volume of eleven essays. Wilson's vulnerability to ethnic group pressures after his inclusion of the principle of self-determination in

his Fourteen Points is made apparent. In like measure, the expediency of American politicians in exploiting the ethnic issues is also evident. The reader may judge as to the degree of wisdom displayed by Wilson and his associates in their varying response to the many pressure groups.

After an overly succinct summary introduction by the editor, brief essays are presented on the Germans (Austin J. App), the Irish (Joseph P. O'Grady), the British (Dennis J. McCarthy), the Italians (John B. Duff), the Magyars (George Barany), the southern Slavs (George J. Prpic), the Czechs (Otakar Odlozilik), the Slovaks and Carpatho-Ruthenians (Victor S. Mamatey), the Poles (Louis L. Gerson), and the Jews (Morton Tenzer). Arthur J. May contributes a chapter on "The Mid-European Union."

Despite inevitable variations of quality and coverage, the essays are consistently useful in supplying information on hitherto relatively obscure aspects of Wilson's policies. Least familiar to students will undoubtedly be the essays on the Italians, the Magyars, the southern Slavs, and the Slovaks and Carpatho-Ruthenians, but there is new material in the other essays as well. May's essay on the abortive Mid-European Union is especially useful.

One is struck by the intensity of the pressures exerted upon Wilson and the immensity of the decisions he was called upon to make, frequently without adequate briefing by aids. The inevitable subjectivity and seeming capriciousness of decisions that resulted have been painfully apparent in postwar history. The authors of the several essays have been admirably reserved in their judgments, but it is clear that the most successful groups were those that reached Wilson through close associates of his, such as Justice Brandeis, or through celebrities such as Paderewski.

The documentations for the essays provide useful bibliographies for further studies, and there is a good index.

Carleton College CARLTON C. QUALEY

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION: FROM ARCADY TO ACADEME. A HISTORY OF THE PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, 1919–1955. By *Patricia Albjerg Graham.* [Teachers College Studies in Education.] (New York: Teachers College Press, Teachers College, Columbia University. 1967. Pp. x, 193. $5.75.)

THIS is a curiously pedestrian treatment of a most unpedestrian theme, but it partially justifies itself because "progressive" education still stirs emotional responses. Thus, a cool hand is helpful, even if it leads one only so far. The author's best point is that pre-PEA progressivism, from the 1880's to World War I, differed from what followed. Earlier innovators responded to changing social conditions, the rise of the city, the new immigration. They emphasized vocational training, health measures, and other priorities. Pioneers like John Dewey did indeed sanction experimentation and the child's creativity, but their principles were broad enough to respect reality and results. Progressive educators of the 1920's were more ardently "child-centered," and their antipathy to the older curriculum was more fundamental.

This book concerns itself largely with the workings of the Progressive Educa-

tion Association, from its founding to its demise: its key figures, its committees, its polemics, as reflected in *Progressive Education,* and its turn in the 1930's under such leaders as George S. Counts, who envisioned "social reconstruction" as the task of the day. The author is well aware that such persons were often excessive in their formulations, and as often without insight into the nature of the society they intended to influence. She sees their work in the 1930's, nevertheless, as a "flowering" of ideas that in some measure attained roots.

The precipitous decline of the PEA is explained by the effects of World War II, the McCarthy "era," and other developments. Unfortunately, too little attention is paid factors and personalities outside the parochial seminars of the progressives, factors that first enabled them to flourish in some measure and then attended their obsequies. The author notes that the progressives "were often wary of historical precedent." However, their qualitative sense of American experience varied. Thus, Harold Rugg's hope was to infuse history with new vitality, a goal that touched off no joy in American Legion breasts. The author insufficiently considers what conditions gave "progressive education" a bad name, even with those who repudiate learning by rote and indoctrination, and she fails to perceive Rugg's brave intention, in his posthumous *Imagination* (1963): to revive progressivism under new and more acceptable tenets than those which led them to ignominy. Additional work in the field may help us understand better how the promising progressivism of Dewey, Arthur E. Morgan, Francis W. Parker, and others became the kind of shibboleth that traditionalists were able to lampoon so successfully. *Progressive Education: From Arcady to Academe* is one-dimensional, but it contributes to the richer history that is, we hope, in the making.

Antioch College Louis Filler

BACK TO BACK: THE DUEL BETWEEN FDR AND THE SUPREME COURT. By *Leonard Baker.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. 311. $6.95.)

This account of the epochal political battle staged in the spring of 1937 over Franklin Roosevelt's Court packing plan is journalistic history at its best—worldly, savory, and altogether delightful. From a newspaperman's point of view, at least, it is all there. First, there are the juicy little anecdotal morsels: "Cactus Jack" Garner holding his nose and turning his thumbs down upon first hearing of the President's scheme; Burton K. Wheeler in a moment of high drama surprising his colleagues on the Judiciary Committee with the celebrated letter from Chief Justice Hughes defending the Court against FDR's charges; and old Hiram Johnson of California, 1912 Progressive turned conservative, impetuously shouting "glory be to God!" at the final admission that the Court bill was beaten once and for all.

Again, the little pen sketches of the dramatis personae: Justice Louis Brandeis cast as "Old Isaiah"; Charles Evans Hughes looking "Lak de Lawd Hisself"; William Allen White, complete with green eye shade, "pecking out homilies and all-American editorials with two fingers on an old typewriter"; and Justice Willis Van Devanter calmly puffing his pipe and ever so casually handing veteran reporter John Suter the announcement of his retirement.

Inevitably, there are weaknesses. The basic interpretation is simplistic. Roosevelt, the patrician, the author holds, had determined to alter the traditional role of the national government, which until now had been "to protect the rich against the poor, the haves against the have-nots." And so he moved against a Court that, defending the interests of "the wealthy and propertied class," had placed the New Deal "under legal siege." It is all pretty simple economic determinism, with none of the subtleties of constitutional law, judicial mythology, and liberal concerns for constitutional continuity and the separation of powers that made the actual struggle so complex and confusing.

Yet the book is not without interpretive value. There are excellent analyses of the reason behind the Court bill's failure: the defection of liberals concerned with the excessive concentration of presidential power, the indifference of labor, the hostility of agriculture, Tom Corcoran's incompetence as a political strategist, and so on. In short, if the book is hardly the final word on the great Court fight, it nonetheless deserves a definite place in the constitutional historiography of the New Deal.

Wayne State University Alfred H. Kelly

THE *PANAY* INCIDENT: PRELUDE TO WAR. By *Manny T. Koginos.* (Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Studies. 1967. Pp. ix, 154. $4.75.)

For more than two decades, diplomatic historians have treated the Japanese attack on the gunboat *Panay* as an isolated and relatively insignificant episode on the road to Pearl Harbor. In this detailed monograph, Professor Koginos attempts to show that it was a "vital turning point in Japanese-American relations." Although he gives a useful summary of this dramatic incident, he fails to prove his contention. Most Americans reacted to the attack on the *Panay* by demanding a withdrawal from China, and the Roosevelt administration quickly accepted the Japanese apology and offer of indemnity. Koginos emphasizes the long-run impact of the *Panay* crisis, claiming that it precipitated a major isolationist defeat in Congress over the Ludlow war referendum amendment and suggesting that it influenced Roosevelt's decision to embark on a program of naval expansion in January 1938. The author, however, is unable to prove that the *Panay* played a decisive role in either of these later developments; nor is he convincing in his assertion that they radically altered American policy in the Far East. The major shift came in 1940 when the Tripartite Pact caused the administration to begin applying economic pressure on Japan.

The limitations of this study are inherent in the author's sources. His reliance on American diplomatic records prevents him from probing very deeply into the critical question of Japanese motivation and leaves his final conclusion, that "an elite inner group of Japanese military extremists" arranged the assault on the *Panay* to force the United States out of China, completely unsupported. He summarizes American editorial opinion at great length, quoting copiously and tediously from a broad range of newspapers, but he offers little analysis of the ideas expressed and their possible impact on American policy. He is more successful in analyzing the conflict within the administration between the diplomats, notably Cordell Hull and Joseph Grew, who favored a soft line, and men like Admiral

William Leahy and Harold Ickes, who pleaded unsuccessfully for a firmer stand. Roosevelt himself remains enigmatic, though Koginos argues persuasively that the President deeply resented the Japanese attack and regretted that he was unable to respond more vigorously. Had Roosevelt not been constrained by public opinion and by his own innate caution, the *Panay* affair might well have led to a decisive change in America's Far Eastern policy in 1937. But as it was, the United States continued to acquiesce to Japanese aggression for another three years.

University of Texas, Austin ROBERT A. DIVINE

FROM THE MORGENTHAU DIARIES: YEARS OF WAR, 1941–1945. By *John Morton Blum*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1967. Pp. xi, 526. $10.00.)

As Blum is adding his own notes to the well-known, huge Morgenthau corpus at Hyde Park, notes ultimately to be available for research, Blum will have courageously exposed his standards of judgment on the materials to the censorious gaze of a later generation of researchers. I predict that he will come off well, despite the brutal revisionism in which, fortunately, historians delight. His work is most important for its demonstration of the frankness and extent of the Morgenthau collection as a unique historical tool; if FDR kept his interior privacy, Morgenthau often wore his heart on his sleeve.

However, as concerns the office conversations relentlessly recorded by Morgenthau's black box with the red light, historians may need to contrive a discount factor; for some persons interviewed have told me that dawning awareness of the box affected what they said and how they said it. One man swears that he made his own availability for consultation dependent upon shutting off the box.

Data throughout this book amply support Blum's assertion that Morgenthau asked for deletion of nothing reflecting upon himself, one way or the other. Thus, the sequences show this sensitive humanitarian and believer in sound finance yielding his arguments to Rooseveltian shifts and wartime imperatives, and suffering four years of frustrations and adaptations, climaxed by abandonment of his plan to pastoralize Germany. Such experiences, not to mention Roosevelt's propensity for derogatory teasing of his outraged admirer and outright discourtesy from congressional committeemen, made the Secretary repeatedly tell his staff he "couldn't take it." But he could and did, evidently sustained by the fundamental strength of his honesty, by his intense delight in close proximity to a President who puzzled him, and by his conviction that his yieldings were dictated by circumstances.

Some readers, including myself, may conclude that Morgenthau's role was not as influential as Blum here estimates it. The text shows the tenuousness of Morgenthau's influence at the White House, in various departments, and on the Hill, and his ignorance of such matters as atomic energy planning, intricate Bretton Woods details, and schemes for Germany developed at Tehran and London. Prior to the Quebec meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill "The Secretary had never before attended one of the top-level Anglo-American conferences." In July 1945 he was aware that he had been allowed "no real part in the negotiations with England." Even in his own back yard he scarcely realized the source of some of his most im-

portant advice for, according to some participants who have described strenuous hassles over international monetary planning to me, the Harry White on whom Morgenthau leaned for economic and financial *expertise* was much indebted to a keener consultant, Edward Bernstein, who is scarcely mentioned here. This book may rouse proponents of other figures, also.

This might be described as an unadorned narrative befitting the honest and sometimes bumbling applegrower elevated to eminence to be the whipping boy (the role he habitually described as peculiarly his) for the politician whom he loved and served unceasingly. But Blum attains real dramatic sequence in the actual events and human nature operating therein. He gives us abundant demonstration of the interdepartmental sabotaging, crass bargaining, infighting, extreme pressures, irrational errors, and pervasive chaos that tyrannize governmental administration, especially in wartime. Historians, political scientists, and economists perusing these revealing pages could well work for peace.

University of Pennsylvania JEANNETTE PADDOCK NICHOLS

CENTRAL PACIFIC DRIVE. By *Henry I. Shaw, Jr., et al.* [History of U. S. Marine Corps Operations in World War II, Volume III.] ([Washington, D. C.:] Historical Branch, G-3 Division, Headquarters, U. S. Marine Corps. 1966. Pp. x, 685. $7.25.)

THIS massive work, the third in a projected five-volume series, covers nine crucial months—November 1943 to August 1944—when victories in the Gilbert, Marshall, and Mariana Islands brought American air power within striking distance of the Japanese homeland. In this period the marine corps learned the theory, tactics, and techniques of amphibious warfare, much of it by trial and error.

The main focus here is on marine corps combat functions, yet supporting arms and services are given adequate space. Victory, after all, was accomplished by navy and marine corps teams, supported by army ground and air units, with new weapons and organizational developments. Noteworthy are the attention and appreciation paid the Japanese fighting man. The narrative is generally clear and easy to follow, especially with the numerous excellent maps provided. There are an invaluable, critical bibliography, fine pictures, and pertinent data in several appendixes.

This is a definitive study, woven from all available sources, including interviews and personal comments of participants, Japanese and American; it is critically objective in pointing out mistakes made in command, tactics, logistics, intelligence, communications, and planning, and in handling controversial issues.

Tarawa, one of the strategically located Gilbert Islands, was the first real amphibious operation against a small, heavily fortified islet defended by a determined enemy. Only a direct assault, with resulting heavy casualties, could bring the quick victory needed to avoid a Japanese attack against American transports and supply vessels.

The marines put to good use the valuable lessons learned at Tarawa in capturing the Marshalls in January and February 1944. Now American forces were within eleven hundred miles of the immensely important Marianas, with Saipan, Tinian, and Guam the special prizes. In taking these by August 1944 the marines

demonstrated they could put two or three divisions ashore, supply them, and fight well in extended combat over all types of terrain. With Tinian in American hands, B-29's, including those that dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, were able to ravage Japan.

The book is marred by several different writing styles, some purple passages, detail that is occasionally overwhelming, and the notable omission of examples that describe individual acts of heroism. Finally, the quality of research and interpretation varies from section to section, probably because several authors did the work over a period of years. Fortunately, the quality improves, and the interest grows with each succeeding campaign treated.

Baltimore, Maryland ABE BORTZ

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1945. Volume I, GENERAL: THE UNITED NATIONS. [Department of State Publication 8294.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1967. Pp. lviii, 1611. $5.25.)

THE material in this volume, in the words of the compilers, "constitutes a bridge between the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals and the Charter of the United Nations. It concentrates on the role of the United States in establishing the legal framework of the United Nations Organization." It does not include the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, the United Nations Charter, or the official proceedings of the intervening San Francisco Conference. These documents are available in other compilations. The largest single category in the present volume comprises the minutes of the seventy-nine meetings of the American delegation to the conference: twelve in Washington and sixty-seven in San Francisco. The minutes describe in much detail the discussions within the delegation of a number of delicate issues. Particularly time consuming was the question of admission of the Ukraine and White Russia as participants in the conference. Their eventual membership in the United Nations, promised by Roosevelt at Yalta, was not in question so far as the United States was concerned. When the Americans reluctantly agreed to let them in on the ground floor, so to speak, they found it necessary also to mollify Latin America by admitting Argentina, whose wartime behavior had left it in the very bad graces of Washington. Another subject that claimed attention through many meetings was the persistent but unavailing Soviet effort to secure admission of the Warsaw (Communist) government of Poland. Also significant was the long search for a formula, earnestly desired by Latin Americans, that would exempt regional enforcement actions from interference by the Security Council. The formula devised, of course, became Article LI of the Charter. Divergences of opinion among members of the American delegation are often interesting, but on the whole a high degree of consensus prevailed in this bipartisan group. In addition to the minutes of the meetings of the US representatives, there are minutes or notes of Four-Power and Five-Power preliminary and consultative meetings at San Francisco, notes of informal meetings, memorandums, letters, and telegrams, adding up to what impresses one as a very full record of the decision-reaching activities of the American delegation and its advisers. Little new or startling information, however, catches the eye upon a cursory reading. The last 240

pages of text are given to the American postconference role in preparing the way for the actual setting up of the UN, and in related activities.

The forty-page index is serviceable; the footnotes and cross references are meticulously done, though a reader wishes, here and there, that he might be briefed on the outcome of controversies whose final stages are left vague in the text.

University of Notre Dame JULIUS W. PRATT

THE TRUMAN PERIOD AS A RESEARCH FIELD. Edited by *Richard S. Kirkendall.* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1967. Pp. v, 284. $6.00.)

THIS book is a product of a conference of historians, political scientists, and archivists held in April 1966 to take stock of scholarly work on the Truman administration. The volume brings together papers by six of the participants in the conference, and the editor's introductory essay discusses opportunities for research. The other essays deal substantively with the Truman administration: foreign and military policies, by David S. McLellan and John W. Reuss; economic policies, by Barton J. Bernstein; social welfare policies, by Richard O. Davies; civil rights and civil liberties, by William C. Berman; and the Truman presidency, by Elmer E. Cornwell, Jr.

The papers are generally good, though one or two are somewhat perfunctory and another is rather too concerned with the deficiencies of earlier research. "The writers are united," observes Professor Kirkendall, "only by their assumptions that presidential libraries provide rich opportunities for research, that research in the Truman Library is in a very early stage, and that the work that lies ahead could be assisted significantly by an inventory of what has been done and what needs to be done." These scholars also seem to agree on the historical importance of the Truman years, and they make a contribution in sharpening the delineation of the period. They destroy some old stereotypes, challenge a number of earlier interpretations, and advance several fresh hypotheses. A few of the writers, particularly Bernstein, reflect an incipient "revisionism" that questions the necessity and value of the containment policy and is more critical than previous interpretations of Truman's failure to accomplish more in domestic affairs. On the other hand, Davies concludes that Truman's strong leadership preserved the social welfare programs of the New Deal. One of the most interesting and illuminating essays is Cornwell's discussion of Truman's conduct of the office of the presidency, which he places in nice historical perspective.

Two other features of this volume will make it especially useful to specialists in recent history. In the first place, the book can be read profitably as a critique of earlier scholarship since most of the essays contain critical appraisals of the literature on the Truman period. Also, several of the essays, particularly Kirkendall's cogent survey of the conference recommendations, provide many suggestions concerning research needs and opportunities. As Cornwell says in concluding his paper, "the unanswered questions about Harry S Truman's Presidency are legion."

Vanderbilt University DEWEY W. GRANTHAM, JR.

DAS AMERIKANISCHE SICHERHEITSSYSTEM, 1945–1949: STUDIE ZUR AUSSENPOLITIK DER BÜRGERLICHEN GESELLSCHAFT. By *Ernst-Otto Czempiel.* [Beiträge zur auswärtigen und internationalen Politik, Number 1.] (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1966. Pp. xvii, 442. DM 64.)

Of late, public opinion on both sides of the Atlantic has been alerted to various kinds of "gaps" that have opened, or are alleged to have opened, between the United States and Western Europe. Some of these "gaps" are perceived to be scientific-technological and managerial. Yet, European social scientists are also becoming increasingly aware of lagging on the highroad of rigorously empirical and interdisciplinary research. One purpose of the present volume is to close this particular "gap."

Dr. Czempiel addresses his labors to the validation of this hypothesis: During the first half of the nineteenth century the national interests of the United States were occasionally at odds with its fundamental world view *(Grundanschauung).* Toward the end of the century, these national interests changed direction, and, since the beginning of the twentieth century, when the USA entered the era of mass consumption, the national interests of the United States largely accorded with its fundamental world view. For the formulation of this fundamental world view, the author relies upon President Washington's Farewell Address and also, by a somewhat disconcerting leap across two centuries, upon the commentaries of Hans Morgenthau. As Czempiel sees it, the United States, a pluralistic society, projects its experience in the achievement of domestic consensus into world politics. Hence, the fundamental world view of foreign policy is manifestly oriented toward compromise, tolerance, nonviolence, and peace.

The author has wisely selected the founding period of the American security system from 1945 to 1949 as his historical focus. He has used the votes of the US Congress, for, as he sees it, the executive branch can make foreign policy only with the cooperation of the legislature, and "the Capitol is the place where the fundamental world views and the national interests of the U.S.A. are being negotiated." The author employs two methods of analysis: quantification, meaning the computation of voting behavior, and the less precise, but more exact analysis of substantive issues and of the committee recommendations and floor debates to which they gave rise.

One might have wished that Czempiel had published his tabulation of congressional voting behavior. Although he refers to his uses of an electronic computer, he does not disclose exactly what kind of variances he has measured. Notwithstanding this regrettable omission, this is a penetrating, painstaking, and, in some places, a highly original study of US foreign policy at the threshold of global commitment.

Czempiel's discussion of the Vandenberg Resolution deserves high marks for analytical rigor, relieved by gentle irony. Armed with this document, which marries lofty universalism to earthy national interest, the United States backed into NATO. True to its fundamental world view, the United States sought to solve the problem of its national security by cooperation rather than by domination. Yet the quest for international cooperation stopped short at the barrier of national sovereignty. Though championing the ideals of Atlantic and European

integration, the United States was not prepared to surrender its sovereign prerogatives, political and strategic, to the Atlantic community. In this "minimalism" that characterizes American foreign policy both toward the United Nations and the Atlantic security system, Czempiel discerns the root of the contemporary problems of the United States in international politics. To have the best of two worlds —peace and prosperity through cooperation and undiluted freedom of maneuver in world politics—would have been an unprecedented diplomatic achievement. Unfortunately, during the twenty years that have elapsed since the founding of the Atlantic alliance, the course of history has not reconciled the inherent contradictions of "minimalism." The gap between US multilateral and unilateral policies has widened, and neither the United Nations nor the Atlantic alliance has managed to bridge it. Indeed, Americans are more lonely than they think. Not the least contribution of Czempiel's evenhanded study is to have provided a counter to that one-way analysis of US-European relationships that finds the cause of the Atlantic alliance ills in the resurgent nationalisms of Europe and not—perish the thought!—in US neoisolationism. His sobering book is recommended reading for those of us who want to see ourselves as others see us.

University of Pennsylvania Robert Strausz-Hupé

THE CALIFORNIA OATH CONTROVERSY. By *David P. Gardner.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 329. $6.50.)

David P. Gardner's *The* [University of] *California* [Regental] *Oath Controversy* presents a well-ordered narrative and perceptive comment. The documentation, chiefly archival, has been chosen with care; the extensive quotations from those involved both help one to understand their authors' views and stimulate the reader's own speculation.

At a regular meeting of the Board of Regents of the University of California, on March 25, 1949, eleven of the twenty-four members were present; they voted unanimously to add to the oath of loyalty to the constitutions of the state and nation, required of all faculty members, these words: "I do not believe in, and I am not a member of, nor do I support any party or organization that believes in, advocates, or teaches the overthrow of the United States Government, by force or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods." This initial regental action and its variant sequels, Gardner persuasively demonstrates, had two main causes. First, the civil context: the 1949–1950 spy trials of Hiss, Coplon, and Klaus Fuchs and the 1949 central Smith Act prosecutions; the McCarthy, Tenney (California), Canwell (Washington), and other investigations and laws; and the indignation aroused by the presence of an admitted Communist, a professor dismissed from the University of Washington, on the UCLA campus as a participant in a debate. Second, an established policy position of the regents: the 1940 declaration that Communist party membership was incompatible with objective teaching and research. The board came to regard the new oath as merely an instrumental projection of this policy.

Thus began three years of controversy that gravely injured the university. The oath issue became less important than the poorly defined issue of categorical judgment upon a professor unrelated to the proving of his incompetence or unpro-

fessional conduct. The issue of group judgment was partly supplanted by a controversy regarding the ultimate authority, regents or faculty, that should appoint or dismiss the academic staff.

Matters were not helped by a poor faculty-administration communications system, ambiguous policy and inadequate machinery for joint faculty-administration responsibility, and an almost complete absence of faculty-board liaison; by a highly respected president to whom fifty administrators reported and whose faculty contacts had become too selective and personal; by faculty advisory committees whose range or authority was ill defined and who eventually came to be regarded, and perhaps to regard themselves, as plenipotentiary; by general faculty (senate) positions that attempted to cure the irremediable and voted 1,154 to 146 to reject the test oath while approving categorical (Communist party) disability by a vote of 1,025 to 268, or by a governing board that split evenly more than once, or close thereto, on tactical decisions. One weeps in despair for the failure of most of the best men of that time and place, a terrible warning to conceit.

Gardner begins his book by rejecting the view that "this was mostly a conflict over principles"; rather, he says, "In its main outlines it was a power struggle, a series of personal encounters between proud and influential men." Perhaps, but only if the principles not truly involved were of such secondary rank as academic freedom, or tenure, or the rule of the democratic majority. At a higher level there was indeed an issue of principle: the regents policy of 1940 subverted justice, and the 1949 test oath cast the net. A few men, E. C. Tolman and Ernst H. Kantorowicz among them, recognized the ultimate challenge. Can we avoid death for all men by fear if we allow the condemnation of one man, not for his misdeed, but because he has been seen among wrongdoers?

Fortunately, the admirable substance of this book will support both sides of a scholarly debate concerning causes and motivations. The door is open to further examination of a most significant episode in our history.

Washington, D. C. LOUIS JOUGHIN

CHALLENGE TO THE COURT: SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AND THE DEFENSE OF SEGREGATION, 1954–1966. By *I. A. Newby*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 239. $6.50.)

IN *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka* (1954), the United States Supreme Court incorporated the research of social scientists to demonstrate the harmful effects of segregation on the personality development of children. Thereupon a small band of academic segregationists (not all from the South) published a spate of psychological studies and tracts in an attempt to discredit if not reverse the school segregation decision. *Challenge to the Court* is largely an examination of the works of these "scientific racists." Professor Newby expends much effort in demolishing their ideas, methods, and claims to detachment and objectivity. He has ably succeeded, but at the price of tedium and repetition. Time and again, we learn that one racist after another, in their zeal to prove innate Negro inferiority through the results of IQ test scores, have failed to account adequately for environmental influences.

According to Newby, the "organization of central direction" of the scientific racist movement reposes in the International Association for the Advancement of Ethnology and Eugenics which was chartered in 1959. Thereupon the author examines the racial views of the officers and governing body of the IAAEE, which only exacerbates the book's major defect. Newby seems to be content with summarizing and criticizing the organization's publications, rather than breathing fresh life into his study by interviewing the board members and examining their archives. Such methods might have revealed the locus of power on the IAAEE board and how the organization is financed.

Challenge to the Court would have been more welcome and useful as a journal article rather than a full-length monograph.

Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville ELLIOTT RUDWICK

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: CURRENT DOCUMENTS, 1964. [Department of State Publication 8253. Historical Office, Bureau of Public Affairs.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1967. Pp. lxxi, 1406. $4.75.)

THIS collection of documents is an official record of a year that began with the President's call for "a world without war, a world made safe for diversity," and that, toward its close, found people all over the world embracing Americans for their apparently clear choice of peace in the presidential election. But if 1964 contained so high a point in the world's faith in the sound judgment and peaceful instincts of the American people, it was, also, the year of the Tonkin resolution, of the initial bombing of North Vietnam.

The greatest value of this volume, as with previous volumes in the series, is the indication it provides of the scope of American involvement in world affairs, of the fantastic burden that confronts those who would shape the foreign policy of the United States. In 1964 the problems of Southeast Asia, however large they loomed, had to vie for attention with the UN crisis over the financing of peacekeeping operations, the conflict between developed and developing countries that emerged so clearly at the UN Conference on Trade and Development, the problems posed by the machinations of a politically ambitious priest in Cyprus, the balance of payments and gold flow crisis, barbarism in the Congo, the obsolescence of NATO, the vanities of De Gaulle, and the tempest over the multilateral force. American involvement—at least the surface nature of that involvement—in all of these problems and numerous others is recorded here in the presentation of the public (as opposed to the working) papers of the Department of State, the President, other agencies of the government of the United States, and the UN. There are also a few previously unpublished documents from the files of the Department of State and a liberal salting of statements by other governments as quoted in the New York *Times* and foreign sources. All of these documents are extremely well cross-referenced.

And yet, this collection, only three years after the events, leaves a totally unrealistic impression of the climate of the year 1964. A reader, unaware that attention was focused on the militant pronouncements of the Republican presidential

candidate, will wonder how anyone could have failed to see the clear and consistent position of the Democratic administration, especially Dean Rusk, William Bundy, and Robert Barnett of the State Department, on the nature of the struggle in Vietnam; on the relationships between the Vietcong and Hanoi and Hanoi and Peking; and on the role the US had to play in Southeast Asia.

Michigan State University WARREN I. COHEN

MONUMENTA NOVÆ FRANCIÆ. Volume I, LA PREMIÈRE MISSION D'ACADIE (1602–1616). By *Lucien Campeau, S. I.* [Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, Volume XCVI. Monumenta Missionum Societatis Iesu, Volume XXIII. Missiones Occidentales.] (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval. 1967. Pp. 276, 719. $22.00.)

ALL students of New France must be indebted to the *Institut Historique de la Compagnie de Jésus*, founded at Rome in 1929, for the present volume. It is lovingly and exhaustively edited by Lucien Campeau, who also contributes an important 221-page introduction.

The longest document printed is *La Relation de la Nouvelle-France* by P. Pierre Biard (1616) from the *Bibliothèque Mazarine* copy containing autograph annotations by P. Massé. Other important early works reprinted in this collection include the *Factum du procès entre Jean de Biencourt et les PP. Biard et Massé* (1614) and Marc Lescarbot's *La conversion des sauvages qui ont esté baptizés en la Nouvelle-France, cette année 1610*. All documents, printed and manuscript, are carefully described, transcribed, summarized, and annotated. Notices of previous editions of printed materials, sometimes available in Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations,* and other pertinent bibliographic data are also given. In addition to the normal scholarly aids, the volume contains a biographical section identifying persons named in the volume.

Campeau's introduction contains an extended treatment of the early cartography of New France, a detailed description of the Souriquois (Micmac) Indian inhabitants of Acadia, an illuminating discussion of missions and commerce as motives for settlement, an analysis of the conflicts between the Jesuits and the seigneurs of Port Royal (the principal settlement), and a bibliographical study of the documents collected. Campeau's patriotism shines through his analysis. French priority or superiority is asserted over all. England looks bad, either because of its indifference toward America following the Cabot voyages or because of its later depredations (1613) against the French settlements in the north. Portuguese maps serve primarily to demonstrate French priority in the area. Yet Campeau's arguments are significant and often persuasive, as, for example, his theory concerning the displacement of cartographical names from the southern coast of Newfoundland to the present Cape Breton area. Similarly, his analysis of Indian life is perceptive and understanding, though he feels compelled to defend his order against charges that Christianity was responsible for its disintegration.

In sum, the present volume is an auspicious start to an important new series.

Smithsonian Institution WILCOMB E. WASHBURN

CANADA VIEWS THE UNITED STATES: NINETEENTH-CENTURY POLITICAL ATTITUDES. By *S. F. Wise* and *Robert Craig Brown*. With an introduction by *Richard A. Preston* and a commentary by *David M. Potter*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 139. $4.95.)

The book has four authors: Richard Preston in an introductory chapter sets forth with rigorous economy the Canadian image of the United States today. S. F. Wise, whose contribution makes up more than one-half of the text, provides a developmental account of Canadian opinion about the United States from 1812 to 1867, and Craig Brown does the same for the period 1867 to 1914. David Potter, whose major historical interest is American history, operates as a "control," commenting on the work of Wise and Brown.

This volume deals almost exclusively with Canadian opinion of the political institutions and the political behavior of Americans. "The opinion that it synthesizes is that of the politically effective minority . . . ," but "it is doubtful that the views of the inarticulate majority of Canadians were much different from those of their political spokesmen." As Wise comes to the end of his survey and prepares to make a general statement, he seems somewhat shocked at the results of his own research, for this research has demonstrated that in the more than half a century he has surveyed there was scarcely any evidence of a generous appreciation, of a sympathetic understanding, of an amused tolerance on the part of Canadians toward their neighbors. All, or almost all, of the Canadian critique is made up of bitterness and hostility masking defensive attitudes. "U.S.A. ideas" were dangerous and must be rejected, and even when "U.S.A. ideas" and Canadian ideas were clearly converging, from the 1850's onward, the necessity to assert a Canadian identity leads Wise to attribute to Canadians "the Narcissism of small differences." This is perhaps why "one of the major problems confronting the historian of Canadian ideas about the American political system is the intellectual shoddiness of those ideas."

Did this shocking conclusion represent the historical reality; did America have no friends in Canada? Wise says that "unquestionably" many Canadians were sympathetic to American institutions. But they do not appear in the record, for here we have only that "politically effective minority," whose articulate quality makes public opinion studies so insecure.

This is a useful and an original work, and, though Potter's commentary from an American point of view is provocative, surely the concluding pages of Wise's second and last chapter constitute the highlight of the book.

University of Michigan Gerald S. Brown

HIPÓTESIS PARA UNA HISTORIA DE LA IGLESIA EN AMÉRICA LATINA. By *Enrique Dussel*. [Publicaciones del I.E.P.A.L., Series "Pensamiento y acción."] (Barcelona: Editorial Estela-I.E.P.A.L. 1967. Pp. 219.)

Enrique Dussel envisions revitalized Catholicism as a major force in a social revolution destined to end internal inequities and reduce Latin America's dependence on economically imperialistic world powers headed by the United States. Inspired by this vision, he has prepared a highly impressionistic sketch of the main

features of Latin American Catholicism from conquest to contemporary times.

He sees the control that the state exercised over ecclesiastical affairs throughout colonial times as the most significant factor preventing the development of a church that could exercise widespread influence in society because of the strength of its internal resources. In picturing the colonial state as the villain that prevented the Church from realizing its vast potential, he totally ignores internal divisions that seriously weakened ecclesiastical effectiveness.

Dussel describes how policies implemented by nineteenth-century liberals and Positivists deprived the Church of its privileges and temporal influence and left it seemingly impotent in a new secular society. He next relates how the Church, around 1900, entered upon a remarkable and little-studied period of recovery in the spiritual and intellectual realms. By the mid-twentieth century most of the anticlerical restrictions of a previous age had been removed, and the Church found itself free to operate as one of many institutions in a pluralistic society, exerting influence through persuasion, example, and education rather than through political power.

The author's sketch omits reference to the setback for Catholic influence caused by the association of many Church leaders with fascism and reactionary Hispanism from 1930 to 1950. In a glaring oversimplification, moreover, Dussel assumes that the Church throughout Latin America is today identified with the "new left," a revolutionary position that he clearly embraces.

Since he undertakes a propagandistic defense of one aspect of the multifaceted Catholicism of contemporary Latin America, Dussel is not concerned with historical accuracy. Yet his book cannot be ignored because it is a rich mine of information on the various organizations and associations founded under Catholic auspices since World War II to help the Church assume a meaningful role in a pluralistic society undergoing rapid change. The work also contains useful bibliographical references and statistical data. Finally, Dussel is perceptive in pointing out some areas that most urgently require research before an adequate synthesis of the history of Latin American Catholicism can be prepared.

University of Notre Dame FREDRICK B. PIKE

LORDS OF CUZCO: A HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF THE INCA PEOPLE IN THEIR FINAL DAYS. By *Burr Cartwright Brundage.* [The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Volume LXXXVIII.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 458. $6.95.)

PROFESSOR Brundage's second book on the Incas fundamentally retraces, in greatly amplified form, the last part of his first volume, *Empire of the Inca* (1963), but with a separate and sharply defined focus on the Incas of Cuzco. It covers the last generation of the independent Inca Empire: the reign of Huáscar, the civil war between Huáscar and his half brother Atahualpa of Quito, and the Spanish conquest to the extinction of the fugitive Inca state of Vilcabamba. Most of the volume is devoted to an eminently readable description of social and political life among the Incas of Cuzco, the remarkable system of households of dead emperors and the living one, and the civil war. Huáscar is depicted as an intemperate, incompetent ruler who undermined Cuzco's ability to govern and to resist. Ata-

hualpa, like the Spaniards, is a shadowy, marginal figure, for the center is always Cuzco.

Within its smoothly flowing, attractive presentation, the volume conceals a complicated and distinctly debatable series of insights and interpretations that are inevitable, given the nature of the materials. To tell the story of the collapse of the Inca state from the Spanish point of view is simple enough since the Spaniards have left relatively abundant records. The Inca point of view, or rather points of view in the divided state, is far more difficult to ascertain since the Incas could not write. Their legends and statements come to us either through the distorting medium of Spanish records or through writing long after the conquest. The murderous division between half brothers, moreover, has left us contradictory and irreconcilable accounts. Yet it is precisely the reconstruction of one native point of view, and indeed *Weltanschauung,* that Brundage attempts. Inevitably the selections and inferences needed to arrive at a unified account mean decisions on a long series of debatable points. Ethnohistorians are likely to argue a long time over this volume. One thing, however, is clear: it is a possible account, boldly and brilliantly done.

University of California, Berkeley Woodrow Borah

THE ENLIGHTENED: THE WRITINGS OF LUIS DE CARVAJAL, EL MOZO. Translated, edited and with an introduction and epilogue by *Seymour B. Liebman.* Preface by *Allan Nevins.* (Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press. 1967. Pp. 157. $6.95.)

In presenting in English translation the memoirs, letters, and will of Luis de Carvajal the Younger, an inspired Jew who died for his faith in Mexico City in the auto-da-fé of December 8, 1596, Professor Liebman contributes most significantly to Hispanic colonial and general cultural history. Written in the cells of the Inquisition in 1595–1596, these documents are of great spirituality and social import. They are the earliest known writings by Iberian Jews in the New World and are the only known extant writings of a Jew in Mexico during the colonial period.

Luis the Younger was a nephew of Luis de Carvajal, governor of Nuevo León, northeasternmost province of New Spain. Luis de Carvajal was of Jewish blood, but not a practicing Jew. Born in Castile about 1567, Luis the Younger came to the New World, along with his family, under the governor's patronage. Luis the Younger received early formal education in a Jesuit school, but when his father eventually divulged to him that he was a Jew, he fervently embraced that faith. Those Carvajal children not thus informed remained in the Roman Church, his brother Gaspar becoming a Dominican friar, and were long unaware of the adherence of other members of their family to the Jewish religion. First identified as a Jew in 1589 and held by the Inquisition with other members of his family, he was released under penalty, only to be apprehended for final trial and sentence in 1595. His mother and three of his sisters shared his fate in 1596. Experiencing visions during imprisonment, he became known, and signed his memoirs and will, as Joseph Lumbroso (The Enlightened).

Carvajal's writings reveal the beliefs, thoughts, feelings, and reactions of a

sensitive, spiritually illuminated, and religiously indomitable mystic. They also uniquely portray the life, religious practices, family relationships, cohesiveness, devotion, and steadfastly borne tribulations of the Jewish community in Mexico, who, as members of a proscribed faith, were forbidden to enter the Spanish New World and were forced to hide their origins and practice their religion secretly under the shadow of the ever-watchful Inquisition and Spanish law. The letters, written to his mother and sisters who were also in prison, are poignant messages of encouragement and religious hope, and his will is an irrevocable statement of his faith.

In his learned introduction, an excellent example of research scholarship, Liebman provides a biography of Carvajal, a history of his family, and an illuminating description of the life and culture of the Jewish community in Mexico. He includes English translations of certain of Carvajal's liturgical verses and prayers that were widely recognized for their literary merit as well as their spirituality. An epilogue continues the history of the family to the end of the colonial period.

That his religious enemies recognized Carvajal's spirituality and devotion is attested by the words of a Dominican, Fray Alonso de Contreras, who attended him in his last hours: "He was always such a good Jew and reconciled his understanding, which was very profound and sensitive, with the divine determination with which he was highly inspired, to defend the law of God and to fight for it."

Alexandria, Virginia ROBERT S. CHAMBERLAIN

THE KINGDOM OF QUITO IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: BUREAUCRATIC POLITICS IN THE SPANISH EMPIRE. By *John Leddy Phelan.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 432. $10.00.)

THE administrative career of Dr. Antonio de Morga, president of the *audiencia* of Quito from 1615 to 1636, provides the material for a ranging inquiry and speculation into the inner politics and practices of the higher reaches of Spanish imperial bureaucracy in John Phelan's latest book. The study has some of the baffling qualities of the Bureau of Reclamation's multipurpose dams. Within the book, there are a biography of Morga, a study of imperial practice in the appointment and control of judges to the *audiencia* and of administrative practice in the *audiencia* of Quito, a history of a particularly tumultuous visita general of the *audiencia* during the incumbency of Morga, essays on such diverse aspects of the colony as attempts to settle Esmeraldas and the Oriente, the Indians, the role of textile workshops and textile production in the economy, and the incursions of the Dutch. The final chapter, in deference to current modes, is "A Weberian Analysis of the Spanish Bureaucracy." In short, the book is a thoroughly mixed bag that careful research and considerable clarity in writing cannot genuinely unite. It should perhaps be read as a series of disparate essays; as such it represents both contributions of great value and a thoroughly interesting experiment in applying some of the speculation on decision making by sociological philosophers. In this connection, one must also read the incisive, finely reasoned article by Phelan, "Authority and Flexibility in the Spanish Imperial Bureaucracy" (*Administrative Science Quarterly,* V [July 1960], 47–65), which is very germane to his inquiry.

Inevitably in a book as anarchic, experimental, and rich in ideas and material, each reader will follow the threads of his own interests. Let me follow one of mine. Running through the essays, undoubtedly as an intended major theme, is a discussion of corruption in Spanish administration. Phelan's interest is in the extent to which corruption occurred at each level of administration and in exploration of the possibility of the development of an administrative corps with a tradition of efficiency and probity, like the British civil service in India. Phelan finds that corruption was greatest in the lower, or clerking, posts and diminished at the higher levels, the viceroys being the least involved in graft. He argues further that the provision of truly adequate or even generous salaries on the model of British India could have provided Spanish America with a corps of magistrates with a similar *esprit*. It is an arresting and interesting analysis, charmingly and cogently argued. I think, in what is very much a personal judgment, that Phelan has, nevertheless, misunderstood the nature of administration, of family requirements, and of patron-client relations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, whether in Western Europe or in Spanish America. He may, I think, misunderstand the nature of the very warp and woof of Latin American society, with its companionable accommodations on the surface. We shall be debating the ideas in this book for a long time.

University of California, Berkeley Woodrow Borah

DOCUMENTOS PARA LA HISTORIA DE LA REPÚBLICA ORIENTAL DEL URUGUAY. Part 3, DOMINACIÓN LUSO BRASILEÑA: LA REVOLUCIÓN ORIENTAL DE 1822–1823. Volume I. Prepared under the direction of *Emilio Ravignani* and *Edmundo M. Narancio*. Preface by *Eugenio Petit Muñoz*. [Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias, Instituto de Investigaciones históricas.] (Montevideo: [the Instituto.] 1966. Pp. viii, 171.)

This collection of 106 documents, some of which have been previously published, will be indispensable to anyone studying Uruguayan independence, equally interesting for the history of Argentine national formation, and valuable in appreciating the effects of Brazil's separation from Portugal on the international balance of the Río de la Plata.

Brazilian independence split the Brazilian and Portuguese troops in the Estado Cisplatino. Lecor, barao da Laguna, took the Brazilian forces to the interior, leaving the Portuguese in control of Montevideo. This split emboldened the *cabildo* of Montevideo to attempt to win independence for La Provincia Oriental by assuming control of Montevideo from the Portuguese when they evacuated for home and by winning armed assistance against the Brazilians from Buenos Aires, Entre Ríos, and Santa Fe. The *cabildo* failed; the Portuguese turned Montevideo over to Lecor's Brazilians, and the Argentine provinces, guided by Buenos Aires, declined to assist against Brazil. The *cabildo* appealed to Buenos Aires to support it, "la parte ilustrada," and so finally destroy "los caudillos de la anarquia [*sic*]," including "el malvado Artigas." When the *cabildo* learned that the Portuguese were leaving Montevideo to the Brazilians, it desperately placed Montevideo under the protection of Buenos Aires and "declara que esta Provincia Oriental del Uruguay no pertenece, ni debe, ni quiere pertene-

cer á otro Poder, Estado, ó Nación que la que componen las Provincias de la antigua Union del Río de la Plata, de que ha sido y es una parte. . . ." Rivadavia felt that Buenos Aires was too weak to declare war on Brazil. He warned the governor of Entre Ríos, who was anxious to end Brazilian protection of the exiled *caudillos,* that negotiations with troubled Brazil, not war, would free La Provincia Oriental. Therefore, "siempre estaría el Gob.^{no} por que no debía anticiparse lo que el orden mismo de los sucesos debe traer á las manos sin sacrificios, que es preciso repetir, no está el país en estado de tolerarlos." *La Revolución Oriental de 1822–1823* was over, but the participants, including the Oriental Lavalleja who had been ready in Argentina, would renew it in 1825.

The history of this set of documents on the *cabildo*'s representatives and representations in Buenos Aires and on relations of the governor of Entre Ríos, Lucio Mansilla, with the Barao de Laguna and with Buenos Aires, reveals Uruguay's present economic crisis. These documents were collected in Argentina and Uruguay by a distinguished group of Argentine and Uruguayan historians organized by the late Emilio Ravignani. While they were completed in 1958, publication could not be financed until 1966, and even then the already prepared prologue was omitted. A second volume, documents on the Montevideo *cabildo*'s representations in Entre Ríos, Santa Fe, and Corrientes, and additional documentation on its relations with Buenos Aires, now awaits funds for printing.

Brandeis University MILTON I. VANGER

ARCHIVO EPISTOLAR DEL GENERAL MOSQUERA: CORRESPONDENCIA CON EL GENERAL RAMÓN ESPINA, 1835–1866. Edited under the direction of *J. León Helguera* and *Robert H. Davis.* [Biblioteca de historia nacional, Volume CVIII.] (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly. 1966. Pp. 487.)

AT last the publication of the correspondence of General Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera—politician, warrior, statesman, *hacendado,* merchant, and publicist—has begun. The editors have selected his correspondence with General Ramón Espina to initiate the volumes that will appear within the "Biblioteca de historia nacional'" series published by the *Academia Colombiana de Historia.* This first volume of Mosquera correspondence includes an analytical description of the Mosquera Archive, excellent biographical essays on Mosquera and Espina, sixty-five pages of notes identifying persons, places, and events referred to in the correspondence with Espina, a twenty-five-page index of proper nouns, and a table of abbreviations used in the letters. Roughly 60 per cent of the total pages are devoted to correspondence. Because of limitations imposed by cost, 101 of the 197 letters by Espina and 2 of the 51 by Mosquera are summarized in two or three sentences. The letters so briefed range in length from one to seven pages. The editors have not indicated a standard of selection other than their judgment. On the basis of their summaries, the editorial decisions appear to be well taken in most cases, but a reader may well hunger for the three pages of details on political events of the new Lopez administration of 1849 and Espina's forebodings about it. May the other volumes be not long delayed in publication.

The correspondence enables the reader to understand the relations of two men, one of patrician and the other of middle-class origins, who were friends, associ-

ates, and, after a quarter century of such ties, opponents, and who maintained an informative correspondence until they met on the battlefield. The letters contribute some information on the political process, especially on the relationship of patron and client, and on Mosquera's effort to found a third party in the 1850's. Espina, who provided Mosquera with political intelligence from the capital city, looked with dignity to Mosquera as his leader, sponsor, and recourse in financial need. Yet he, the professional officer, would not follow his friend and patron in rebellion against the legitimate government of New Granada in 1860. It was not that the government since 1830 had made much effort to cultivate the loyalty of the army by adequate financing, training, equipment, or size. On the contrary, the letters give some data on the hard realities of military service and reveal the constant financial struggle of the professional officer driven to moonlighting so that his family might subsist within the shadow of dignity.

Ohio University ROBERT L. GILMORE

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION: FEDERAL EXPENDITURE AND SOCIAL CHANGE SINCE 1910. By *James W. Wilkie*. With a foreword by *Howard F. Cline*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. xxix, 337. $7.50.)

THIS book is one of the most impressive studies on the Mexican Revolution to appear in over a decade. Combining statistical data with an intimate knowledge of public policy developments and aided by interviews with key figures of the revolutionary era, the author presents a persuasive interpretation of the Revolution viewed as a series of ideological stages. For the purposes of this study Wilkie undertook the Herculean task of collecting federal budget data, both projected and actual expenditures, from the end of the Díaz era to 1963; his imaginative use of data gives the book its great impact.

By grouping outlays under three categories—administrative, economic, and social—and presenting them in percentage terms as well as in pesos of constant value, Wilkie creates an instrument that permits him to establish the character of each administration, and to differentiate Mexican history since 1910 into ideological periods. Citing the allocation of funds as between the three categories, he shows how the Mexican state shifted from a passive role as regards economic and social development into an active one in the early 1930's. Four ideological periods are set forth on the basis of the budgetary analysis: political revolution (1910–1930); social revolution (1930–1940); economic revolution (1940–1959); and balanced revolution (1959–1963). With his analysis the author is able to show where the real shifts occur. Thus Madero emerges as much closer to Díaz in his outlook on the role of the state than is suggested by existing biographies, and Lopez Mateos, the exponent of the "balanced revolution," is strikingly close to Cárdenas in his concern for social and economic development.

In the second part of this volume Wilkie develops an analytic tool that might apply to the study of social change in other areas: a statistically derived poverty index. Using decennial census data on illiteracy, language, diet, size of community, footwear, and availability of sewage disposal, he creates a quantitative means of measuring changes in social deprivation, both over time and by region. With

this index, moreover, he attempts in his concluding chapter to relate the ideological periods studied in the first part to social change. The results are provocative as well as ironic. It is not the years of violent revolution nor those of the social revolution that have yielded the most social change, but rather it is the era of economic revolution with which Ávila Camacho, Alemán, and Ruíz Cortines are identified.

Wilkie's study thus comes as a strong reply to those who view the Revolution as having expired with Cárdenas in 1940. In terms of certain of its stated goals, such as the elimination of illiteracy, poverty, malnutrition, its achievements are only now becoming visible. But Wilkie's own data reveal the great obstacles in the way of further progress. For even if the poverty index has shown a significant decline since 1940, in absolute numbers Mexico had more people going barefoot in 1960 than ten years before and more illiterates than at any time since the Revolution began in 1910.

This volume is bound to raise controversy for some of its judgments, and it will undoubtedly cause a stir in the country it examines. Mexicanists as well as students of social change in general will want to read it.

University of Massachusetts ROBERT A. POTASH

LABOR, NATIONALISM, AND POLITICS IN ARGENTINA. By *Samuel L. Baily*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 241. $8.00.)

THIS investigation of the period 1930 to 1957, based on newspapers, union reports, and interviews, adds much to our understanding of contemporary Argentina and should prove valuable for comparing the Argentine experience with popular nationalisms elsewhere in the world. With these sources the author attempts to integrate three main aspects of labor's "social mobilization": labor organization; worker participation in politics; and the growth of nationalism within labor unions. For successful completion of a difficult task and for clarity of expression, Professor Baily deserves high praise.

Baily sets the stage with two introductory chapters that examine, largely from secondary sources, the birth of the Argentine labor movement in the mid-nineteenth century, the formation of the first labor federation in the 1890's, the early anarchist orientation and consequent repression of syndicalist activities, and the growing working-class nationalism of the early twentieth century. For discussion of the period after 1930 the author relies increasingly on primary sources, and as a result the study gains both in depth and authority. His thesis that the Argentine labor movement developed from two fundamental but conflicting tendencies —the liberal or reform nationalism of the European immigrants and the *criollo* or antiliberal nationalism springing from local traditions—will doubtless stimulate disagreement and further research. Such an explanation, nevertheless, clarifies many of the divisions and problems in labor organization during the 1930's and 1940's. Into this conceptual framework Baily has skillfully introduced Perón's domination and utilization of the antiliberal tendency and has examined with greater perspective and depth than Robert Alexander's *The Perón Era* how antiliberal and Peronista positions and objectives intermeshed and finally emerged

victorious within the labor movement. The final two chapters fill a critical gap in information and interpretation of recent developments. In reviewing and assessing the union leaders' gradual disenchantment with Perón from 1952 to 1955 Baily suggests "Perón had terminated the revolution and had compelled them to question the assumption that their interests were the same as those of the new Argentina." The stormy two years after Perón's fall "strengthened Peronism and *criollo* nationalism in the labor unions instead of weakening them as it was supposed to do."

Baily's conclusions are clear cut and forceful. The victorious antiliberal tendency "derived from the ethnocentric values and traditions of the migrant workers from the interior." But despite their success within the ranks of labor, the *criollo* nationalists failed to achieve their ultimate goals and remained a frustrated and potentially revolutionary force on the Argentine scene. With time the interior and Peronista coloration may fade and a more flexible and pragmatic approach may encourage professionalism and new alignments within the labor movement, but popular nationalism and recognition of labor's political role must be institutionalized within the Argentine nation.

Indiana University James R. Scobie

ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION UNDER LÁZARO CÁRDENAS. By *Joe C. Ashby*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1967. Pp. x, 350. $7.50.)

For over twenty years Mexicanists in the United States have directed their English-reading students to Marjorie Clark's *Organized Labor in Mexico* with the admonition that the date of publication was 1934. Now, with the appearance of Professor Ashby's work, the student should also be reminded that the role of organized labor during the critical Cárdenas presidency (1934–1940) has also been the subject of serious study.

After briefly surveying the historical development of Mexican labor during the first twenty-four years of the Revolution and examining labor's supporting role in Cárdenas' power struggle against former President Plutarco Calles, Ashby launches into a detailed but not technical analysis of labor theory during the Cárdenas years. Examining the philosophical posture of Vicente Lombardo Toledano, Ramón Beteta, Alfonso Teja Zabre, and Cárdenas himself, he concludes, not surprisingly, that the Cardenista theory of labor was eclectic, borrowing from both socialism and capitalism, and tailoring specific doctrinal formulations to meet specific Mexican needs. Thus, the author's position regarding Cárdenas' labor theory is not unlike the conclusions of other scholars on the nature of the regime as a whole.

The real contribution of the work is found in the application of the theoretical constructs to a series of labor-capital conflicts during the last four years of the Cárdenas administration. The most important conflicts treated are those analyzing labor's role in the nationalization of the railroads, the establishment of the huge Laguna *ejido* system, and, of course, the expropriation of the foreign-owned oil industry in 1938. These three examples demonstrate to Ashby "that whenever foreign-owned companies failed to abide by the decision of Labor Department

authorities and the courts, expropriation was the course taken by the Mexican government, with strong support of the organized labor movement."

Ashby did not consult any union records or other manuscript collections during the preparation of this volume, but he did utilize an impressive array of published source material. The organizational structure of the book is sound, and the style, while not elegant, is quite readable. Latin Americanists interested in the Mexican labor movement will want to have this work within easy reach.

University of Nebraska MICHAEL C. MEYER

CUBA: CASTROISM AND COMMUNISM, 1959–1966. By *Andrés Suárez.* With a foreword by *Ernst Halperin.* Translated by *Joel Carmichael* and *Ernst Halperin.* [Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Studies in International Communism, Number 12.] (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1967. Pp. xviii, 266. $7.50.)

WITH the overthrow of the corrupt and brutal regime of Fulgencio Batista by the July 26 Movement, Fidel Castro commenced one of the major social revolutions of our time. Professor Andrés Suárez has skillfully recorded the progression of that revolution from its beginnings as an essentially political reform movement to the creation of a Communist dictatorship on the Caribbean island of Cuba. Suárez himself left his native island in November 1960, and he makes it clear that he is no friend of the bearded Cuban leader. Despite his disaffection with Castro, Suárez treats his subject with remarkable detachment, and this work is not, thankfully, another polemical tirade by a disenchanted exile.

It is, on the contrary, a serious and well-documented analysis of Castro's sources and uses of power, of his motivations and methods in turning Cuba into a socialist state, and of the close relationship between internal developments in Cuba and Castro's involvement in international affairs. Regrettably, the author did not exhaust all of the sources available to him for this study. Based on Cuban newspapers, particularly *Hoy* and *Revolución,* as well as other contemporary sources, this study, nevertheless, provides a highly detailed description of the events that have shaped Cuban history since 1958. Suárez has, moreover, put them into the perspective of world history better than anyone else has yet done.

Suárez regards Castro as "a consummate opportunist, gifted . . . with the audacity and courage to act with the most exaggerated radicalism if this serves his purposes." Suárez repeatedly notes Castro's lack of ideological knowledge or conviction, seeing him as a man of action who espouses whatever ideology currently serves his purpose. In the author's opinion, Castro is an exceedingly skillful diplomatist who has been able to exploit to his own ends the cold war, the Sino-Soviet rift, and the neglect of Latin America by the United States. Suárez makes it clear that the Communists in Cuba did not take over Castro, but that rather the reverse occurred. He acknowledges the ideological role that Ernesto "Che" Guevara and Fidel's brother, Raúl, probably played in Castro's thinking, but insists that such influences were secondary to Castro's own ambitious aspirations to power not only in Cuba, but throughout Latin America and the "third world" or neutralist bloc. Castroism, the author concludes, cannot now be equated with

Communism, although he admits that it may yet become so owing to Castro's heavy dependence on the Soviet bloc. But for the present Castro fits better the image of the Latin American *caudillo* than that of the traditional Communist leader. Suárez also demonstrates how Castro, along with Guevara and Regis Debray, has challenged the traditional views toward both Soviet and Chinese ideology in Latin America. Castro's refusal to abide by guidelines laid down by Marx and Lenin has subjected him to severe Soviet suspicion and distrust, although he did finally gain Soviet recognition of his government as being part of the "socialist" bloc.

Although many will disagree with some of Suárez' conclusions regarding the personality and character of the Cuban dictator, few will deny that he has made a significant contribution to the literature on the Cuban Revolution. The detail that this work provides on the development of both Castroism and Communism in Cuba and its explanation of the relation between internal and external events make it of particularly lasting value.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr.

* * * * Association Notes * * * *

American Historical Association

The American Historical Association will meet at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, December 28–30, 1968. Lawrence W. Towner of the Newberry Library is Chairman of the Program Committee, and Robert W. Shoemaker of North Central College, Napierville, Illinois, is Chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee.

The general index to Volumes LXI–LXX (Oct. 1955–July 1965) of the *American Historical Review,* a project supported by the American Historical Association's Matteson Fund, should be published by the fall of this year. A prepublication price of $8.00 for each copy has been set for prepaid orders received before October 1, 1968. The regular price of $10.00 will be charged after that date.

The Service Center for Teachers of History announces that as of September 1, 1968, the price of each pamphlet in its bibliographical-interpretive series will be seventy-five cents. Each pamphlet currently costs fifty cents. A complete list of titles is free upon request.

MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AHA HEADQUARTERS MARCH 14, 1968, 9:30 A.M.

The meeting was called to order by the chairman, AHA President John K. Fairbank. Present were: C. Vann Woodward, Vice-President; Elmer Louis Kayser, Treasurer; Paul L. Ward, Executive Secretary; Henry R. Winkler, Managing Editor of the *American Historical Review;* and elected Council members Thomas C. Cochran, Philip D. Curtin, Caroline Robbins, Carl E. Schorske, Lynn White, jr., and William B. Willcox. Also present at the Council's invitation were James B. Conacher, William E. Leuchtenburg, Louis Morton, John F. Roche, Robert W. Shoemaker, and Lawrence W. Towner, Program and Local Arrangements Committee Chairmen for 1966, 1967, and 1968; R. K. Webb; and Robert L. Zangrando, Assistant Executive Secretary. Elected Council members David M. Potter and John L. Snell, Jr., and voting former Presidents Hajo Holborn, Frederic C. Lane, and Roy F. Nichols were unable to attend.

The Council approved the draft minutes of the December 27, 1967, meeting and actions taken by the Executive Committee since that meeting as follows:

Authorization of initial actions looking toward the Association's accepting responsibility for housing and fiscal management of CONPASS (Consortium of Professional Asso-

ciations for the Study of Special Teacher Improvement Programs) beginning in the summer of 1968.

Sending official letters to the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations endorsing and urging funding for "Proposed Program of Archival Technical Assistance to Underdeveloped Nations," submitted to the foundations by the International Council on Archives.

Making the AHA mailing list available to Senator George McGovern and to Congressman Frank Thompson.

Mr. Fairbank then directed the Council's attention to the first item on the agenda: discussion of the over-all administrative problems of the Annual Meeting. Discussion opened with remarks on the problems of the Program Committee submitted by Mr. Morton. During discussion of specific administrative problems, Mr. Fairbank suggested that the question of the role of the Annual Meeting be considered in the context of the Association's whole range of functions and goals. Mr. Fairbank summarized by listing four topics that could be written up as working papers: Program Committee means and budget, means of increasing continuity on the Program Committee, possibilities for reaching into other areas and avoiding parochial subjects, and de-emphasizing the role of subgroups in AHA Annual Meetings. Mr. Woodward suggested that the agenda for the next meeting include a discussion of phasing out joint sessions.

Mr. Schorske said he thought these questions could best be explored by setting up a subcommittee of Council members to consider the functions of the meeting, based on these topics. He moved that such a committee be created; the motion carried. The Executive Secretary, in consultation with the Executive Committee, will choose its members.

Mr. Fairbank then turned to the local arrangements problems of the Annual Meeting and summarized the ensuing discussion by noting that it was the opinion of the group that the AHA Business Manager should at least assume the cashier function formerly carried out by the Local Arrangements Committee, and possibly move into other areas of this operation.

Following a short break, Mr. Fairbank announced that Mr. Ward and the Executive Committee had consulted and proposed the following membership for the Council subcommittee to consider Annual Meeting functions: Mr. Morton (Chairman), Mr. Curtin, Mr. Leuchtenburg, Miss Robbins, Mr. Schorske, Mr. Towner, and Mr. White. The Council approved the membership as proposed.

The six Program and Local Arrangements Chairmen then left the meeting, and Mr. Fairbank introduced the next item on the agenda: the proposed Woodrow Wilson Center and Hostel, and the Center for Scholars proposed by former President Julian P. Boyd in his 1964 presidential address. Mr. W. Stull Holt had written to point out that the two proposals should not be equated, to ask that the Council not allow the challenge to create a proper center for historical scholarship to be neglected, and to insist that the Association not accept a weaker substitute under the aegis of government. The Council decided to maintain Holt's point of view pending further developments.

The Council then turned its attention to the report and recommendations of the *ad hoc* Committee on Prizes and Awards appointed in December 1966 to

review the Association's prizes in light of certain problems and new developments. The report included the following recommendations:

1) The Beveridge Prize should be awarded for distinguished books rather than manuscripts; the Dunning Prize should be administered by the same committee for works by a younger scholar; and the amount of the Beveridge Prize should be increased if available funds permit.

2) The Littleton-Griswold Prize should be discontinued.

3) Two substantial prizes should be awarded every five years, one in the history of the Western Hemisphere and one in the history of the rest of the world, for a work in the English language by a scholar resident in the United States.

4) The Council should adopt the following guidelines when accepting funds in the future in order to establish prizes:

a) an endowment should consist of at least $15,000.00 or, in special cases, a guarantee of $500.00 a year for five years;

b) a specified field should be no narrower in terms of present or expected scholarly research and publication than is indicated by the Association's existing prizes;

c) after twelve years the Council should be able to alter the terms of the award with reference to new circumstances, so long as they remain substantially in keeping with the original purposes.

Mr. Fairbank then expressed the opinion of the Council as: it agrees on the importance of prizes as a function of the Association; it wants to see in time for the September Council meeting data on the exact terms and legal status of each prize now given by the Association; it would like to examine the procedure for granting prizes. Mr. Fairbank suggested that Mr. Ward and Mr. Winkler draft a statement about the nomination process for prizes and the preliminary screening of books. The Council voted to adopt the first and second recommendations of the Committee on Prizes and Awards.

The Council appointed Robert W. Shoemaker of North Central College as Local Arrangements Chairman for the 1968 Annual Meeting.

As the first item in the Executive Secretary's report, Mr. Ward asked the Council to appoint Alfred Kelly of Wayne State University as the third AHA member on the six-member AHA-OAH "watchdog" committee, the continuing form of the Joint Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Historians under the First Amendment. The membership of the new committee is composed of the president, the executive secretary, and a third member from each organization. On motion the Council so appointed Mr. Kelly. Mr. Ward said that, once the Organization of American Historians has appointed its members, the committee should establish criteria for consideration of future appeals.

Mr. Ward next reported concerning the Joint Committee on the Status of the National Archives. The Council had received the rebuttal of Robert Bahmer, Archivist of the United States, to the committee's short report. Mr. Ward proposed that the Council leave the matter to the joint committee unless its members wanted the Council to take action. Mr. Fairbank said Mr. Morton, the only member of the Joint Committee present at the Council meeting, would speak about the committee later. Mr. Ward said that the staff study, which was not presented

to the Council in December since it is a document of some 350 pages, will go to the printer's soon. Mr. Ward had told Mr. Boyd he thought the Council would want it understood that AHA sponsorship would not be indicated on the title page. Mr. Boyd agreed and said the circumstances of the AHA's involvement would be spelled out by him in the foreword. The Council directed the Executive Secretary to ascertain the exact wording of the foreword's reference to the relation of the Association to the project before such wording was made final.

The next item in Mr. Ward's report concerned the proposed assumption by the Association of the housing and fiscal management of CONPASS (Consortium of Professional Associations for the Study of Special Teacher Improvement Programs) beginning in the summer of 1968. Mr. Ward noted that the Executive Committee had agreed that the Association should take preliminary steps leading to this end.

Mr. Fairbank questioned whether it is a proper function of the Association to relate to the government with respect to history in the schools and said that, at this point, the Association's interest may have to seek a connection with government activity in that area. Mr. Zangrando agreed, noting that the government is presently the leading source of funds to improve history teaching in the schools. He said the Association needs to have a continuing role in shaping policy, rather than simply approaching government sources with special projects for funding on an *ad hoc* basis. Mr. Ward briefly reviewed the difficulties the Association now faces in seeking to initiate new projects in this area and stated that the connection with CONPASS would strengthen the Association's hand in pursuing helpful contacts. He mentioned that after an AHA delegate had completed a one-year appointment on the Board of the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE), NCATE invited the Association to appoint a delegate to serve two more years rather than rotating the board vacancy to another professional association. Mr. Ward said this indicated that NCATE valued the participation of the AHA delegate and that the Association could fruitfully involve itself in evaluation of teacher training from other directions as well. The Council voted to approve the assumption by the Association of the housing and fiscal management of CONPASS.

Mr. Ward concluded his report by commending the work of the Association staff, particularly Mr. Zangrando, which enabled the business of the Association to go forward in the weeks of Mr. Ward's absence following eye surgery.

Mr. Winkler reported to the Council on the Board of Editors' meeting held December 30. The ten-year index to the *Review* for 1955–1965 has been compiled and is about to be published for the first time by the AHA rather than the Macmillan Company. Mr. Winkler said there are outstanding questions as to the number of copies to order, the possibility of advertisements, and so forth, to be worked out by Mr. Ward, Mr. Kayser, and Mr. Douglas Harris, the Business Manager. He said that as editor he had tried to choose articles for inclusion in the *Review* that were of interest to the profession as a whole, not just small groups of specialists in narrow fields. The Board of Editors feels this trend should continue, though some feel it has not gone far enough, and others take a more conservative approach. Two ideas emerged from the meeting: to commission essays by historians to keep the profession informed concerning developments in such fields as

sociology; to begin easing absolute restrictions on the length of reviews. Mr. Cochran said he was not entirely in favor of letting reviews grow; five hundred words seemed adequate to him for an incisive critique. Mr. Winkler agreed, in general, but thought that in cases of very important works or groups of works, longer reviews would be appropriate. He mentioned the possibility of rereviewing books after perhaps ten years have passed.

Mr. White said he would like to raise a question bearing on bibliography, since the AHA is moving into this area. His concern was that the time is approaching to reach agreement among major learned societies about how references are to be indicated. He said considerations bearing on this would be simplicity and economy. Mr. Curtin mentioned a similar problem in standardizing references with respect to archiving of tapes. Mr. Winkler said he had discussed with Oscar Winther the value of publishing the lists of books not chosen to be reviewed. They agreed that such coverage could be improved, but the matter needs to be discussed further with editors of other historical journals. Mr. Winkler urged Mr. Webb to do so; Mr. Webb said he planned to do this.

Mr. Kayser moved that the Council appoint Mr. Webb as Managing Editor of the *Review* for three years, beginning June 1, on a four-fifths-time basis, with fringe benefits as described in letters from Mr. Ward to Mr. Webb dated February 2 and from Mr. Kayser to John Mundy dated February 16. Mr. Kayser made some general observations on the financial position of the Association; he then reviewed briefly the circumstances incident to a change in personnel in the office of Business Manager of the Association.

Mr. Fairbank then asked the body to return to the subject of the Joint Committee on the Status of the National Archives. Mr. Morton subsequently returned, and he was able to provide further information as part of the Council's consideration of the matter. Following discussion, the Council insisted that, if the study is published, it be published with the statement that, although it was prepared with a grant from the Association through the Council on Library Resources, it does not necessarily represent the opinion of the Council of the Association. It also suggested that the matter of royalties on the sale of the book be considered. It was moved that the Council notify the committee that it wishes clarification on the rebuttal's allegations of factual error in the report and that, as a matter of good procedure, the Council's approval of the short report be withheld and the whole matter be suspended pending receipt of such clarification. The Council adopted this motion. It was agreed that Mr. Bahmer's letter should receive a response thanking him for his views and noting that the Council is considering the contents of the letter.

Next, the Council was asked for support on the question of the future location of the British Museum Library. Members concluded that, while it may well be appropriate for individual scholars to give support to the continued location of the library in central London, it would not be appropriate for the Council, which represents the national United States historical body, to adopt a position concerning the British Museum Library.

Mr. Woodward asked the Council to adopt the following motion:

Resolved, That the Council request the Executive Secretary to frame and deliver a suitable petition to the appropriate congressional committee requesting revision of

Title 13, US Code, if necessary, so as to make available original census records for the census of 1900 and, if possible, 1910, and with provision that after sixty years have passed such original census records will henceforth be available to scholars.

He explained that the Bureau of the Census indicates that original census records are not available and will not be available for examination by scholars because the information was gathered with guarantees that it was confidential. He felt that two generations were enough to ensure privacy and that the law should be changed to ensure availability of original census data after sixty years. The motion carried.

The meeting adjourned at 3:30 p.m.

PAUL L. WARD, *Executive Secretary*

RECENT DEATHS

Newton C. Farr of Chicago, Illinois, died November 8, 1967.

David Edward Owen, Gurney Professor of History and Political Science at Harvard University, died suddenly at his home in Cambridge on February 13, 1968. His death removes from the historical profession not only a distinguished scholar in the field of modern British history, but one of its best-known and most popular figures.

He was born on December 2, 1898, in Owatonna, Minnesota. He graduated from Denison University in 1920 and received a Ph.D. from Yale seven years later. Before going to Harvard in 1937, he served at Yale as instructor and assistant professor. At Harvard he was elected to the Gurney Professorship in 1958; from 1957 to 1964 he held the position of master of John Winthrop House. At the time of his death, he was also a senior fellow of the Society of Fellows.

Owen was the author of *Imperialism and Nationalism in the Far East* (1929), *British Opium Policy in China and India* (1934), and *English Philanthropy, 1660–1960* (1964). The last book, the labor of ten years, is a major and unique contribution to British social history. In it the author accomplishes the difficult task of tracing the processes by which voluntary charitable effort characteristic of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gave way, under the impact of the new problems presented by industrialization, to what we now know as the welfare state and by which voluntary effort is first intertwined with and then largely yields to state intervention. The book is a pioneering effort in the field, the first full account of a complex and difficult subject. All further research in this area will have to depend on it. At the time of his death Owen was working on a book dealing with the administration of London in the nineteenth century. He had completed a major portion of the work.

Owen was one of the great teachers of his generation. His course on British history in the nineteenth century was one of the most popular at Harvard, a continuously entertaining demonstration of learning and insight lightly carried and always spiced with humor. No one among the thousands who heard it, many more than once, will ever forget his famous slide lecture on the Great Exhibition

of 1851 in which the vagaries of Victorian taste and the aesthetic exuberance of the period received their full and hilarious due.

Many of Owen's students are teaching British history in universities and colleges throughout the country. They as well as his colleagues and his many friends will always remember the warmth of his personality, his quick wit, and his never-failing generosity.

Edgar L. Erickson, professor at the University of Illinois, died March 4.

Harvey Wish, professor at Case Western Reserve University since 1945, died March 7. His contributions to American intellectual history include *Society and Thought in America* and *The American Historian.*

Walter Millis, consultant for the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, died March 17, at the age of sixty-nine. He had served as an editorial writer for the New York *Herald Tribune* until 1954. His historical writings concern the relationship between civilian and military power; they include *The Martial Spirit* and *The Road to War.*

Robert Edward Drayer, assistant professor at West Chester State College (Pennsylvania), died March 29.

Joseph Straub of Kansas City, Missouri, and Archbishop Paul Hallinan of Atlanta, Georgia, died recently

Communications

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

In his review of my book, *Liberalism and Indian Politics, 1872–1922* (*AHR,* LXXIII [Oct. 1967], 201), Professor R. I. Crane makes much of certain alleged "errors of fact or interpretation." I should be glad of the opportunity to point out the falseness of each of Crane's allegations and the errors among his own "facts."

Crane challenges my view that in the mid-Victorian period the prejudices of intellectual and aristocratic liberals made for the exclusion from the Indian Civil Service of British candidates who had not enjoyed the advantage of an Oxford or Cambridge or public-school education, as well as of educated middle-class Indians. Crane writes: "The facts . . . are at variance with this view. A relatively modest proportion of the candidates came from either source ["the great public schools and universities"], with a more substantial portion coming from the special 'crammer institutions.' " Crane is wrong on several counts here.

First, Crane seems to assume that nonuniversity candidates could have attended either a public school or a " 'crammer institution,' " but not both. In fact boys who had been to a public school often, and to an increasing extent, underwent special preparation for the competitive examinations at a crammer institution.

Secondly, during the first decade of the competitive system (1855–1864) only 79 out of 458 successful candidates had not attended a university, and of them a further number had been to a public school. Of the university successes 181 were

Oxford or Cambridge men. From 1865 the chances of university candidates were affected by the reduction in the age limit from twenty-two to twenty-one years. Still, during the next five years (1866–1870) 132 out of 246 successful candidates had attended a university, while the public-school successes increased steadily (see my *Sir Charles Wood's Indian Policy, 1853–66* [1966], 93–107).

Thirdly, the intellectual and social prejudices of the framers and executors of the competitive system are beyond question. The framers intended to recruit men of social and intellectual distinction from Oxford and Cambridge (see my "The Abolition of Patronage in the Indian Civil Service and the Closure of Haileybury College," *Historical Journal,* VII [No. 2, 1964], 246–57). It became increasingly difficult, however, to attract such men (see *Wood's Indian Policy*). As the Oxford and Cambridge entrants to the ICS declined during the early 1860's Wood insisted upon enhancing the chances of "gentlemen" by altering the age limits and the marking system to the advantage of the public schools, which seemed to provide some assurance of scholarship and "character." During the next ten years the practice of cramming developed apace. It is paradoxical, for the crammer was often a public schoolboy, that there coexisted an intellectual prejudice against the crammer and an esteem for the scholarship of the public schoolboy. In consequence, in 1876 Salisbury reduced the maximum age of candidates to nineteen years and required all successful candidates to proceed to a university, which, in practice, generally meant Oxford or Cambridge (see *Liberalism,* 19–20). The fact is that "the Victorian preference for the gentleman made for the exclusion of many able middle class and Irish youths who had not enjoyed the benefit of residence at a public school, or at Oxford or Cambridge" (*ibid.,* 12), though as Wood once remarked, "nothing can keep out a very clever fellow, though he may not be up to the mark in manners and conversation" (*Wood's Indian Policy,* 101).

Fourthly, the same prejudices made for the exclusion of middle-class Indians from the ICS. The aristocratic prejudice of mid-Victorian Whigs led them to look away from the middle classes and toward their "aristocratic counterparts" in India, the "natural" or "traditional" leaders, as the class to which authority should be delegated. I have developed this point initially by reference to the policies of Wood and Argyll (*Liberalism,* 12–13). Crane acknowledges my argument that British policy "sought to accommodate to the 'natural leaders' of Indian society." But he seems not to realize the implications of that policy for British attitudes toward the exclusion of Indians from the ICS.

Fifthly, Crane misrepresents my case by making it seem that I regard social and intellectual prejudices as a sufficient explanation of the virtual exclusion of Indians from the ICS. He writes, as if the point were his own, that "More than a Victorian preference for gentlemen was at work." He entirely overlooks the first part of my explanation: that the function of the ICS was seen as to "guarantee . . . the integrity of English officials," to "safeguard the righteousness and efficiency of an imperial regime" (*ibid.,* 12–13). I have also traced the defense of the exclusion of Indians on grounds of imperial expediency and racial superiority (*ibid.,* 58–61, 76–77).

Crane further alleges that "at no place" do I "confront either the fact or its implications that the 'natural leaders' were increasingly the urban, educated, professional class who were so largely represented in the Congress." This is not true. I

have considered the point at a number of places and particularly in my concluding chapter, which inquires into the failure of the Liberals to transfer authority to Indians before they lost their grip on power in England (*ibid.*, Chap. VIII; see also 14, 98–99). There I criticize the assumption that Britain should delegate authority to the traditional leaders of Indian society, to which successive viceroys and statesmen clung even "when Britain's education and land policies, and the investment of British capital, had clearly upset the traditional order of Indian society and created a growing and politically conscious middle class" (*ibid.*, 122). The argument of one paragraph is that the aristocratic Liberals who were so prominent in the government of India were incapable of regarding the "westernized middle classes" as "the legitimate voice of a new nation." The argument of the next paragraph is that "the administration," the ICS, was a major obstacle. Yet Crane writes, as though it was his own point, that to explain the Whig-Liberal failure to come to terms with the nationalists we should "look less toward Liberal ideas and more at how India was run and by whom."

Crane contends, too, that I have erred in my account of the changes in the legislative councils pursuant to the Councils Act of 1892, in particular by referring to the introduction of the "elective principle." He believes that "a kind of representative system, but not an electoral system" (Crane's term) was introduced and that I have overlooked "the nugatory effects of the Regulations governing nominations that were issued to implement the act." I have dealt with the formation of the act in an article ("The Twilight of the Whigs and the Reform of the Indian Councils, 1886–1892," *Historical Journal,* X [No. 3, 1967], 400–14) and summarized the story in *Liberalism* (pp. 53–58). The facts in brief are these. When first introduced by the Tories in 1890 the councils bill provided for the enlargement of the legislative councils by increasing the number of nominated nonofficial Indian members. Under pressure from the Whigs the Tories accepted an amendment that was acknowledged in debate as removing any legal obstacle to the Viceroy's nominating nonofficials who had previously been chosen by an elective process. Pursuant to the act the Viceroy issued regulations that did give local boards power to recommend for nomination nonofficial Indians who had been selected by election. Elections were accordingly held, the successful candidates were nominated to the councils, and they were known as "elected members" (see the documents in *The Evolution of India and Pakistan, 1858–1947: Select Documents,* edited by C. H. Philips [1962], 67–68, 130–33).

Crane's remaining allegation concerns my "acceptance of the exploded myth that Lord Dufferin persuaded Hume to shape the Congress in a political direction." In fact I quoted the claim of the first Congress president, W. C. Bonnerjee, on the point (*Liberalism,* 50–51). Wedderburn also subscribed to the story in his biography of Hume. Whether fact or myth, the story was promulgated and accepted by nationalists and their sympathizers who knew Dufferin. This could scarcely have been the case if the story had been utterly inconsistent with contemporary views of Dufferin's attitude toward the nationalists. There is evidence that in 1885 and 1886 Hume looked upon Dufferin as "a consistent and earnest," "wise and prudent" friend (see B. L. Grover, "The Genesis of the Indian National Congress," *Bengal Past and Present,* LXXXII (Pt. II, 1963), 131–39, esp. 135–37). S. N. Banerjea wrote that Dufferin "encouraged the idea of an Indian National

Congress and sympathized with its aspirations at the outset" (*A Nation in Making* [1927], 92). In the light of the situation in 1885 Dufferin's encouragment of a political Congress seems not unlikely. The problem then was not so much nationalism as Ripon's legacy of Anglo-Indian hostility. In 1861, when British policy toward landlord-tenant relations on indigo plantations aroused Anglo-Indian opposition, Wood (later Lord Halifax) had introduced a Councils Act that balanced Indians against Anglo-Indians in the legislatures (see *Wood's Indian Policy,* 62). In January 1885 Dufferin wrote privately to Halifax that he wanted to support Ripon's "beneficent projects . . . for the good of the people" (A. C. Lyall, *Life of Dufferin* [1905], II, 75–76). The Bonnerjee story of Dufferin's conversation with Hume early in 1885 is not inconsistent with such intentions. From March 1886 Dufferin began to write of reforming the legislatures, which had been the major demand of the first Congress in the previous December. In 1888 he proposed a scheme of reforms and the introduction of the elective principle.

Crane's rejection of Bonnerjee's story as an "exploded myth" presumably rests upon three recent articles, which show that Dufferin made no claim to have influenced the formation of the Congress and, further, that he was severely critical of the Congress (Grover, "Indian National Congress"; Mrs. K. Bishui, "Lord Dufferin and the Indian National Congress," *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies,* IV [No. 2, 1964–65], 73–79; A. Parel, "Hume, Dufferin and the Origins of the Indian National Congress," *Journal of Indian History,* XLII [Pt. 3, 1964], 707–25). I have given prominence to Dufferin's attacks upon the Congress, but these began after Hume had started what Dufferin regarded as inflammatory pamphleteering (*Liberalism,* 55–56). Bishui and Grover make much of the skeptical tenor of Dufferin's comments on the plan for a political Congress in a letter to the governor of Bombay in May 1885. But Dufferin's comments are not surprising. For here Dufferin was advising the governor against supporting the Congress overtly by accepting Hume's proposed invitation to be chairman of its first meeting. Dufferin's failure to write favorably of Hume's initial proposal for a Congress would not be out of character. It would not be the only time that he spoke with two voices. Cross later complained of receiving "to my horror . . . a despatch [from Dufferin] . . . containing an elaborate scheme of reforms . . . although in his speech . . . [that same month] he pointed out the danger of assenting to the views of the so-called 'National Congress'" (Viscount Cross, *A Political History* [1903], 121). The Bonnerjee-Wedderburn testimony and its long acceptance remain difficult to explain away. The results of recent research into the origins of the Congress are less explosive than Crane would have us believe. While all facts harden when they are not misrepresented, all are not equally hard.

School of Oriental and African Studies,
University of London
R. J. Moore

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

May I thank you for the opportunity to reply to the letter of rejoinder from Professor R. J. Moore concerning my review of his book, *Liberalism and Indian*

Politics, 1872–1922 (1966). As per your request, I shall keep my reply as brief as possible.

Two general comments to begin: the request that I review *Liberalism and Indian Politics* urged me to use no more than four hundred words. In my effort to stay close to the assigned limit, I may have stated some of my opinions rather baldly. The nuances and characteristic scholarly qualifications of certain very complicated issues could not be explored adequately in so brief a review.

I was asked, moreover, to review *Liberalism and Indian Politics,* and *not* any other publications by Professor Moore. In his letter of rejoinder, Professor Moore cites materials from two of his other publications. I was not asked or encouraged to review such publications, and I do not quite see how disagreement over the book I did review can appropriately be resolved through reference to publications not examined in my review.

In the rejoinder, Professor Moore asserts that I am in the wrong on the matter of the effects of the bias against middle-class candidates for the ICS examinations. My point, in the review, was that "English middle-class youths were entering the ICS, but middle-class Indian youths were not."

To contradict my statement, Professor Moore cites figures, in his letter of rejoinder, for the years 1855–1870, concerning proportions of university men among ICS candidates. It seems to me, however, unwise to use data for years *prior* to 1870 in support of an argument advanced in a book devoted to the period 1872–1922. One could safely extrapolate figures forward from the 1860's only if one were confident that the situation had remained virtually unchanged. There is evidence from the archives to suggest that the situation did not remain unchanged after 1870.

Dr. Bradford Spangenberg has devoted much of one chapter of his splendidly documented doctoral dissertation, "Status and Policy: The Character of the Covenanted Civil Service of India and Its Ramifications for British Administration and Policy in the Late Nineteenth Century" (1966), to a careful study of all relevant archival materials bearing on recruitment to the ICS. His evidence goes to show that at least by 1876 "the number of university students or graduates participating in the examinations had dwindled to a minority among the candidates" (p. iii). Dr. Spangenberg gives figures taken from official records showing that in 1874 some 55 per cent of the successful candidates had no university degree or affiliation. He quotes, furthermore, from C. L. Tupper to the Secretary to Government of Punjab, on July 24, 1875 (in *Papers Relating to the Selection and Training of Candidates for the Indian Civil Service* [1876]), in a widespread conclusion that the system of "crammers" tended to " 'defeat the principles upon which [the] system [of competition] was originally framed,' that is, that candidates should be graduates or preparing for graduation from the universities" (p. 34). Dr. Spangenberg also quotes from *The Oxford Magazine* (X [Mar. 23, 1892], 271) to the effect that the crammers had helped "socially unfit" persons to pass the ICS examinations.

Dr. Benjamin Jowett, master of Balliol, writing to Lord Ripon late in 1882, remarked that "the best boys from the public schools have very rarely competed for the ICS. . . ." Again, in an article in *The Edinburgh Review* (CXXXIX [Apr. 1874], 336), it was argued that youths of undistinguished social origins were lowering the quality of the ICS. Lord George Hamilton, writing to Lord Curzon

in 1899, said of members of the ICS, "No doubt he [the civilian] is at times a prig, and, *being largely recruited from the middle classes,* he lacks at times the manners and consideration that the hereditary exercise of influence so often gives . . . [italics mine]." On May 7, 1876, Sir Fitzjames Stephen wrote to Lord Lytton: "You must never forget that 19 civilians out of 20 are the most commonplace and the least dignified of 2nd and 3rd class Englishmen." Again, Lord George Hamilton said in a letter to Curzon on July 27, 1900, that beginning about 1875 "we tapped a very bad stratum of the social world" among ICS recruits. Space will not permit continuation of these representative quotations. All of the archival evidence so carefully used by Spangenberg goes to show that middle-class Englishmen did enter the ICS, and not in insignificant numbers. This caused me to question the *significance* of the bias against such people in explaining why only a small handful of Indians got in. Professor Moore did indicate in his book that other factors played a role—though I could not find space to refer to this in so short a review—but it seemed to me that undue emphasis was placed on the anti-middle-class bias as an explanatory mechanism.

Professor Moore also contradicts my comments concerning the Councils Act of 1892. In my review I tried to suggest, in a few words, that the act meant "elections" in a very special and limited sense. Let me cite but one example of what I had in mind.

In the North-West Provinces and Oudh, the District and Municipal Boards were reconstituted in 1884 as a result of Lord Ripon's initiative. The new-style Local and District Boards had a total of 1,300 elected and 300 appointed members. An electorate of 13,000 was created, among a rural population of over 40,000,000. On the Municipal Boards 1,200 members were elected and 200 were appointed by the government. The total municipal electorate was 51,151 persons out of an urban population of some 3,000,000. This entire arrangement is closely documented and analyzed by John L. Hill, "Congress and Representative Institutions in the United Provinces, 1886–1901" (doctoral dissertation, Duke University, 1966). When the Councils Act of 1892 came into effect the crucial issue arose of how the members of the council were to be chosen. In his fourth and fifth chapters Dr. Hill has utilized extensive archival sources to explain the process by which regulations covering membership in the Legislative Council of the North-West Provinces and Oudh was settled. Out of a total of fifteen seats, seven were to be filled by nominated officials, while "selected" Municipal Boards were to choose two members and "selected" District Boards were to choose two. The Senate of Allahabad University was to nominate one member, while the Upper India Chamber of Commerce, a European body, was to nominate a member. The British Indian Association of Oudh was to nominate one of its members.

For these purposes the District Boards were divided into two groups: "Each District Board was to elect one representative, who would meet with the representatives of the other [District] boards in his group and nominate one member to be appointed to the [North-West Provinces and Oudh] Legislative Council" (*ibid.,* 211). One group comprised twenty-four delegates from twenty-four District Boards, while the other group consisted of delegates, one each, from twenty-one District Boards. These were the men who formed the second-stage, indirect "electorate" to nominate two members to the council.

Ten Municipal Boards were designated, also in two groups, to send their representatives, one from each Municipal Board, to nominate two members of the council. Five Municipal Boards sent a delegate each to the Lucknow group, while the other five boards sent their five delegates to the Allahabad group. Each group of five electors nominated one among them to fill a council seat.

It does not seem to me that this process of two-stage "election" via a minute handful of electors can appropriately be described as election in the normal sense of the word. This is why my review said that this was "a kind of representative system, but not an electoral system." If space permitted, I could list similar forms of nomination from other provinces, or point out that the Punjab did not even use the 1892 act, but rather the 1861 act, in forming their council.

On the matter of Lord Dufferin's apparent role in influencing A. O. Hume and the origins of the Congress, Professor Moore surmises that my opinions rest upon three recent articles that he mentions in his letter of rejoinder. He then discusses the three articles that he thinks formed the basis for my views and states that the result of these studies is "less explosive" than I had indicated.

I do not think this is the place to evaluate the articles mentioned by Professor Moore. Enough to comment that such articles, and other studies he does not mention, seem to me at the very least to call into serious question the accuracy of the Bonnerjee-Wedderburn accounts. Despite Professor Moore's letter, I remain quite unconvinced on the point.

Space limitations do not allow me to continue this reply vis-à-vis other statements advanced in Professor Moore's letter. I hope this interchange may prove fruitful in that other practitioners in the field of modern Indian history may be challenged to give serious attention to the substantive issues. In this way historical scholarship can be advanced to our mutual academic benefit.

Duke University ROBERT I. CRANE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In a recent issue (*AHR,* LXXIII [Feb. 1968], 840) Professor John H. Wuorinen reviewed my book *Communism in Finland,* and in view of the nature of his criticism I feel obliged to clarify a number of points.

Professor Wuorinen argues that the answers that I give to the questions raised in my book are incomplete due to my failure to take note of four factors and circumstances.

First, why do Finnish Communists campaign under the façade of the Finnish People's Democratic League (SKDL)? The answer (although it could have been spelled out in more detail) is to be found on pages 206–207: without the façade voters would be driven away from the party.

Second, it is suggested that I fail to take into account the change in circumstances under which the Communist party operated in the pre- and post-1944 periods. But one does not have to read very far in my book to discover that in the prewar period the party was illegal (or semilegal) and in the postwar period legal. Surely one should not have to say much more in order to inform one's readers that circumstances did change and were important in the fortunes of the

party. Professor Wuorinen's assertion, furthermore, that in the post-1944 period anti-Communist discussion and debate have been restricted will surprise those of us who think of Finland as a democracy. A recent American survey regarding freedom of the press in the United States and twenty-five European countries is revealing in this respect. Finland with a score of +3.05 ranked third, behind the Netherlands and Switzerland, on a scale ranging from absolute freedom (+4) to absolute control (—4).

Third, it would seem that I fail to see the divisive effects of the legacy of the Civil War, and, what is more curious, one is led to the conclusion that I fail to see the conflict of 1918 as a civil war. But the impact of the Civil War is clearly noted on pages 88–89 of my study (especially note 31), and Chapter III is even entitled "Civil War." I am particularly puzzled by Professor Wuorinen's point about the Civil War, since in my review of his latest book (*Slavic Review,* XXV [Mar. 1966], 161–62) I argue that *he* fails to see the events of 1918 as a civil war.

Fourth, Professor Wuorinen correctly notes that I have not wrestled with the fact that the Communist party does not draw much support from the intellectuals in Finland. The social composition of the party is, however, dealt with at some length in an article that I have written for a forthcoming volume of *Sowjetsystem und demokratische Gesellschaft. Eine vergleichende Enzyklopaedie.*

In sum, the lukewarm reception of my book by Professor Wuorinen revolves around interpretation rather than facts. Perhaps our differences were pinpointed thirty-seven years ago by Carl Becker in his presidential address to the American Historical Association: "It should be a relief to us to renounce omniscience, to recognize that every generation, our own included, will, must inevitably, understand the past and anticipate the future in the light of its own restricted experience, must inevitably play on the dead whatever tricks it finds necessary for its own peace of mind. The appropriate trick for any age is not a malicious invention designed to take anyone in, but an unconscious and necessary effort on the part of 'society' to understand what it is doing in the light of what it has done and what it hopes to do."

Syracuse University John H. Hodgson

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

Professor Hodgson's comments on my review of his book give me a welcome opportunity to point out the following. The explanation of the founding of the SKDL (pp. 206–207 of the book) deals, it seems to me, primarily with the role of several dissident Socialists and not with the part played by the Communists. The chances are that only top-level Communists know the real plans and purposes of the party in the fall of 1944, and an outside researcher, no matter how conscientious, cannot therefore be expected to discover the whole story. Secondly, Professor Hodgson is quite right in pointing out that Finland's press is free, and I should have been able to make it clear that my statement referred to the voluntary, self-imposed restraint illustrated since 1944 by the press in discussing Communism and its purposes in Finland, and especially in commenting on the nature of the Communist order of things in the USSR. Thirdly, the "Red vs. White" approach to the Civil War in 1918 does seem to obscure the fact that the war was precipitated

by a revolt, several weeks after the Soviet government had recognized Finland's independence, against the legal government headed by Svinhufvud. To bring out this basic point therefore helps to illuminate where illumination is needed.

Finally, both in my *A History of Finland* (1965) and *Scandinavia* (1965) I specifically characterize the 1918 war as a civil war. The former states (p. 216) that "The obstacles to the nation's freedom were removed only after a war, at once a civil war and a war of independence, had been fought." The latter has a paragraph reference to the war (pp. 38–39) that speaks of it as "a struggle for independence as well as a civil conflict. . . ."

Columbia University JOHN H. WUORINEN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Jesse D. Clarkson's review of my *Danilevsky: A Russian Totalitarian Philosopher* (*AHR,* LXXIII [Feb. 1968], 861) makes it look as though a device by which innovation and nonconformity are frequently and subtly stifled in other areas of contemporary American social and cultural life is also in use in the historical profession. Let me explain.

The study of history may be approached in various ways. Among these, two are relevant here: the descriptive and the analytical. History of the former kind seems to be modeled on those lengthy passages in the Bible where we are given lists of who begat whom on the premise that everything else was taken care of by an inscrutable Providence. Professor Clarkson offers an unusually clear example of this style of historical thought when he disparages my omitting to mention such (to me) inanities as the "vital Czech origin" of Russian Pan-Slavism and the fact that Iury Krizhanich's seventeenth-century Pan-Slav manuscript was first published about ten years before Danilevsky's *Russia and Europe* (though, Professor Clarkson notes, "presumably Danilevsky was unaware of it"). While this chronicle method of history has been subject to doubts at least since the time of Edward Gibbon and while Professor Clarkson's version of it is apparently now a purist one, it continues to have great vitality in our time, especially in the Russia branch of the American historical profession.

Nevertheless mine is another, an analytical approach to history. A historian may be interested in examining the structure and dynamics of the historical process itself at any given time. He may look, for instance, into such things as the nature and multiple origins (social, cultural, psychological, accidental) of the Russian intelligentsia. In the course of such an inquiry he may legitimately find himself grappling with the most fundamental problems of social change; the nature of Russians' responses to Westernization and modernization; the degree to which such responses were informed by native and by foreign, by subjective and by objective factors. At the level of method he may legitimately be drawn into consideration of the way the work of social scientists can be used by the historian. At the philosophical level (for history may be regarded as a humanity), he may even ponder questions about the structure of human behavior in general. My work on Danilevsky was an effort in this kind of analytical history. I was therefore not worried—as Professor Clarkson is—about the feasibility of intensive study of a very ordinary and relatively uninfluential intellectual. The study of Danilevsky (it was I who questioned the bases of his hitherto not inconsiderable

reputation as a philosopher of history and Pan-Slav theorist) was worthwhile to me because it provided a fairly good chance, partly because he was ordinary, to scrutinize in a concrete way basic social and cultural processes in modernizing Russia, especially in regard to such matters as leftist romantic radicalism, intellectual totalitarianism, the intelligentsia, the meeting of changing Western science and changing Russian Orthodoxy. I did not fail to point up the innovational nature of my procedure. I called the study several times a biographical history and said that it represented a somewhat new kind of historical research. Certainly I recognize that history has long been advancing beyond the chronicle method; I have acknowledged the contributions to me of others. But still I think my analytical thrust and my biographical focus were sufficiently novel to have been so designated.

When a scholar tries something new, it would seem only fair that his effort be considered on criteria appropriate to it or that there be discussion of the criteria themselves. Professor Clarkson, however, has dismissed my work out of hand because I did not do the sort of history he does. He ridicules me for my "tenacity." He dismisses my claim to have done something different by accusing me of having "steeped" myself "in pseudoscientific jargon." He suggests I wrote the book because of some irrational devotion to the late Mikhail Karpovich, whose suggestion that I study Danilevsky is mentioned in the preface. He illustrates his ridicule chiefly by holding up my own frank statements about Danilevsky's lack of great influence and mediocre intellectual stature and then pointing to my supposedly idiotic detailed analytical work on him. All in all he dogmatically imposes on my book—and finds it sadly wanting—his notion of what historical study is: the "begat" theory, and if the subject did not beget, he cannot be significant, especially in the "history" of something important like Russian totalitarianism, and should not be studied, at least not hard.

I call attention in some detail to what has happened here both for my own sake and because I am reasonably sure that similar things can happen to other people trying new approaches. At best in any large institution such as the historical profession, the conventionalists will greatly outnumber the innovators. Unless the former are, as seems unlikely, all tolerant, open-minded, and bright, there is always the danger that innovation will get summarily dismissed and even greeted with ridicule. We all know how easy it is to gain assent by resonating with the other members of our in-group. But it is childish behavior, intolerable in a community of scholars. The damage done to individuals, personally and professionally, reeks of injustice. The most serious consequence is the loss to innovation itself. With or without scorn, the would-be innovator can go on working on the new, but, in default of responsible criticism and scholarly exchange, how can his general line of innovation ever undergo the modifications needed to turn it into a real contribution?

I am sure you will agree that the American Historical Association should not be a forum of stupidity and bigotry. Professor Clarkson acts, however, as though it were. And his apparently instinctive, almost visceral sense that one reviews books by primitive appeals to his fellows' traditionalist biases leaves one wondering about that sense's institutional setting.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology Robert E. MacMaster

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

Clarkson's review of MacMaster's *Danilevsky* is the most shameful I have ever seen. In his flight from the book Clarkson is more insensitive, more complacent, more tightly swaddled in his self-righteous mantle of ignorance than was Musmanno, when he so cleverly unmasked Arendt as a Nazi sympathizer. The *Times,* of course, *never* selects suitable reviewers, but it is difficult to understand how you made such an unlikely choice. Malia, Pulzer, Petrovich—surely you could have found someone not afraid to concede that men's thoughts are a part of history, that totalitarianism is perhaps not yet fully understood.

Dalhousie University Richard Bonine

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

It is regrettable that Dr. MacMaster's letter, like that of his loyal friend Bonine, seems to have little or no relevance to my review, though his letter may perhaps serve as the review he wishes you had printed. If MacMaster had accomplished any of the things he had in mind by way of analysis, I should have been very glad to praise him for his achievement; unfortunately, I found it possible to admire only his stated aims, while regretting their nonfulfillment. If some passages in my review seemed to MacMaster like ridicule, he should bethink himself that they are passages quoted from his book. Perhaps, too, MacMaster was more influenced than he was aware by certain "lengthy passages in the Bible"; he has simply disguised the "begats" under more sterile terms such as "influences," "heritage," "tradition," and so forth, well larded with "charismatic," "kenotic," "scientistic," and the like. It is quite obvious that his literary style is not up to the standard of the King James Version.

Permit me to repeat some of my earlier queries:

If it is important to MacMaster to note that Danilevsky had some peripheral contacts with Pan-Slavism, why is it to him inane to inquire into the bases of Pan-Slavism itself? Does he really understand Pan-Slavism, which he seems to think was merely "secularized" Slavophilism?

My mention of Krizhanich was not in connection with the "Pan-Slav" cast of his thinking, but in connection with MacMaster's confused, not to say naïve, discussion of totalitarianism. Would not consideration of Krizhanich's thought have given MacMaster a better perspective and spared him some of his frantic struggles to determine which ideology "begat" which?

I should still be interested to know why MacMaster says that Danilevsky "was a forerunner of the Bolsheviks . . . not of the Nazis" (p. 299). Is it because "Some totalitarian philosophers (the 'Russian type') have a . . . rationalistic . . . temper, others (the 'Western type') are . . . irrationalistic," and that "Danilevsky's philosophy . . . was of the Russian type" (p. 300), although "Danilevsky's philosophy was not authentically rationalistic . . ." (p. 251), occasionally even meriting the adjective "schizoid" (p. 283)?

Verily, MacMaster has labored, amidst a welter of ill-digested jargon, but has suffered the fate that the ancients said may befall even a mountain.

Brooklyn College Jesse D. Clarkson

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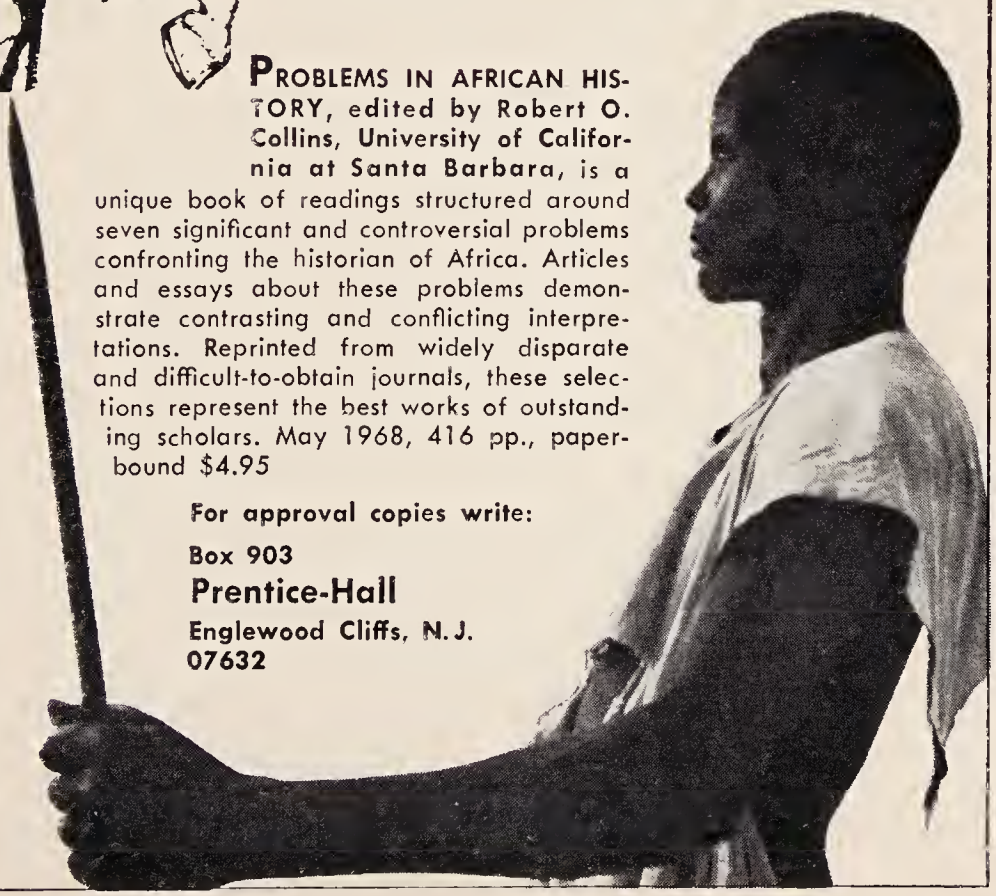
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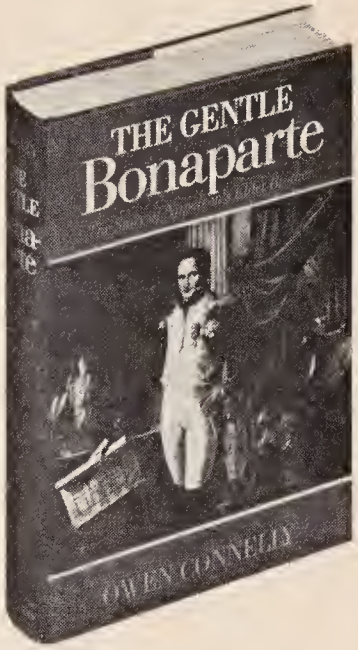
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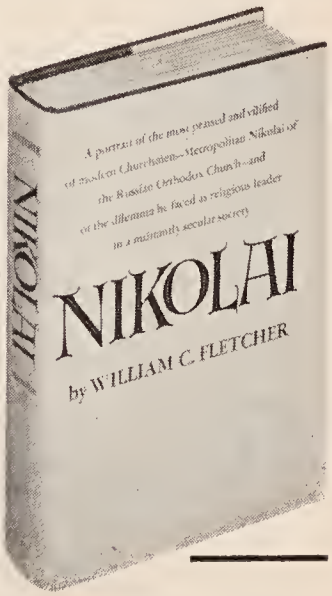


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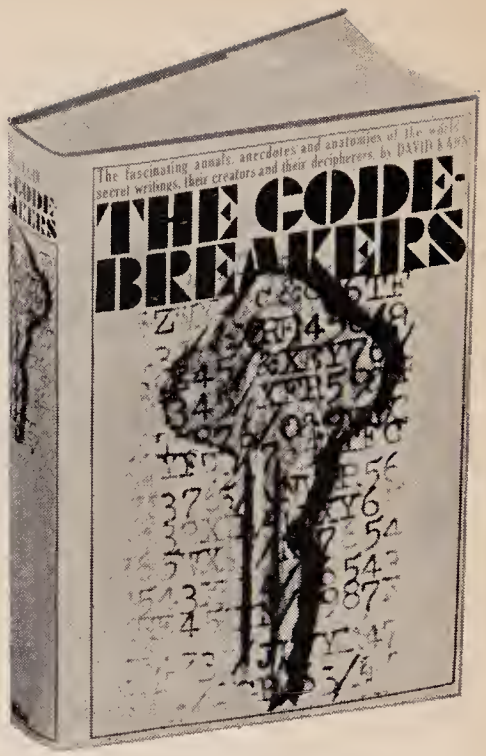
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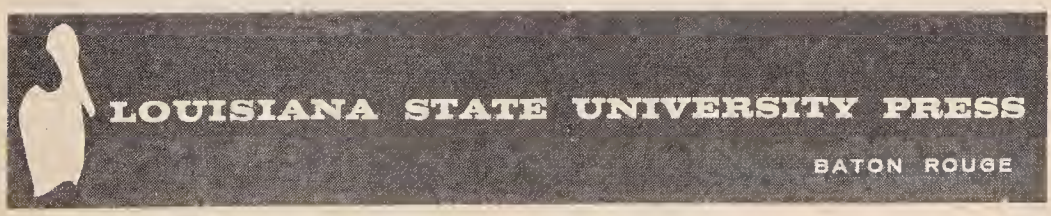
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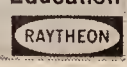
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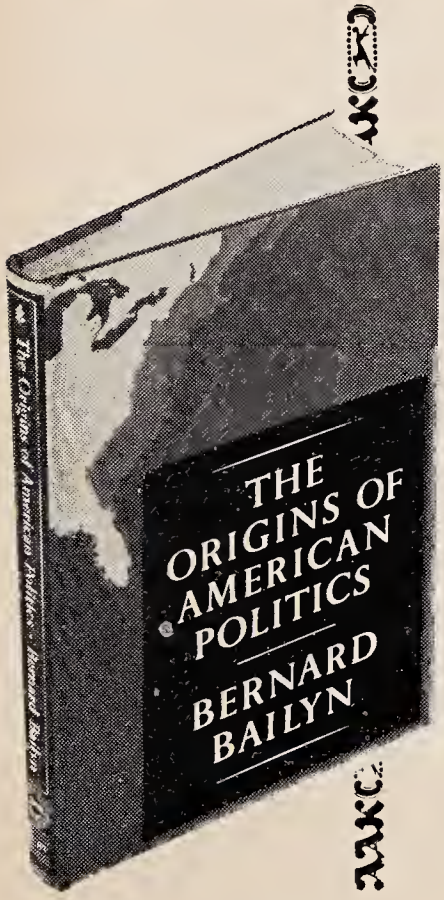
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